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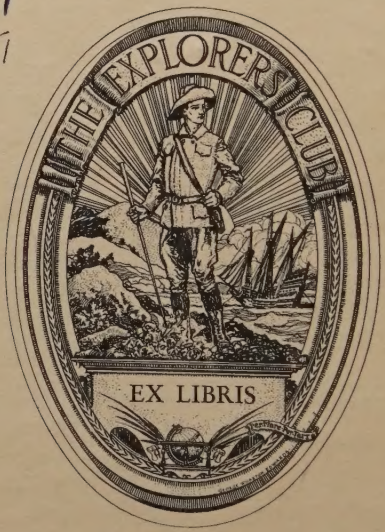

Presented by
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JOURNAL OF THE TRAVELS OF FATHER SAMUEL FRITZ

SECOND SERIES

No. LI

ISSUED FOR 1922

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JOURNAL OF THE TRAVELS and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723

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TRANSLATED FROM THE EVORA MS AND EDITED
BY THE
REV. DR GEORGE EDMUNDSON

WITH TWO MAPS

LONDON
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY
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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PAGES

I. The "Samuel Fritz" MS at Evora in Portugal: its Contents and its Writer . . . 3

(1) The finding of the document 3–5

(2) The Contents of the Evora MS and its Sources 5–23

II. Father Samuel Fritz—a Short Biography . 24–31

III. The *Act of Possession* of Pedro Teixeira in 1639 32–39

IV. The Manáos and the River of Gold . . . 40–43

TRANSLATION OF THE EVORA MS

Containing the Journal of Father Samuel Fritz and other material concerning his Life and Missionary Labours 45–142

§ I. Pacification and Customs of the Omaguas . 47–58

§ II. Journal of the Descent of Father Samuel Fritz, Missionary of the Crown of Castile in the River Marañon, from S. Joaquim of the Omaguas to the City of Gran Pará, in the year 1689, and return of the said Father from the same City to the Pueblo de la Laguna, the head centre of the Mission of the Maynas, in the year 1691 59–79

§ III. Father Samuel passes from the Marañon to the Court of Lima, and from there returns once more to his Mission of the Omaguas . 79–90

§ IV. Letter of Father Samuel to Father Diego Francisco Altamirano, Visitor of the Province of Quito, in which an account is given of what occurred in the Mission of the Omaguas, Jurimaguas, etc., from September, 1693 to the end of July, 1696 90–98

PAGES

§ V. Journal of Father Samuel Fritz, in which he relates that which took place in this Mission from the year 1697 to the year 1703 . . 99–114

§ VI. A brief account is given of what happened in the years 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707 . . 114–116

§ VII. Here proceeds the Journal of Father Samuel to the year 1723 116–131

§ VIII. Brief recapitulation of the deeds, the virtues and the death of Father Samuel . . 131–138

§ IX. State of the Mission of the Omaguas and Jurimaguas after the year 1715 . . . 138–142

APPENDIX

No. 1. Letters from the late Sir Clements Markham, F.R.G.S. to the Rev. George Edmundson . 143

No. 2. The Maps of Father Samuel Fritz . . 143–145

No. 2*a*. Translation of the Title and the Notes attached to Fritz's Map of 1691 . . . 145–148

No. 2*b*. Translation of the Title, Dedication and Notes attached to Fritz's Map of 1707 . 148–150

No. 3. Contemporary references from Portuguese sources to Father Samuel Fritz and his missionary work and activities in the Upper Amazon 150–155

No. 4. An extract from Bento da Fonseca's "Maranon conquered for Jesus Christ and the Portuguese Crown by the Priests of the Company of Jesus, 1757." This document was found in the Codex of the Evora Public Library, which contains the "Fritz MS" . 155-156

List of names of the native tribes of the Amazon, and of the localities mentioned in Father Samuel Fritz's missionary life and journeyings 157–158

INDEX 159–164

MAPS

A. Map of the River Amazon and its affluents

B. Reproduction of Fritz's Map of 1707

INTRODUCTION

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SKETCH MAP OF THE RIVER AMAZONS AND ITS PRINCIPAL TRIBUTARIES.

PREFIXED TO SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM'S "EXPEDITIONS INTO THE VALLEY OF THE AMAZONS."

HAKLUYT SOCIETY. Series I., Vol. 24.

INTRODUCTION

I. THE "SAMUEL FRITZ" MS AT EVORA IN PORTUGAL: ITS CONTENTS AND ITS WRITER

1. THE FINDING OF THE DOCUMENT

IN the years 1901 and 1902, being employed by H.M. Government to carry out researches in the Portuguese Colonial and other Archives for material bearing upon the Boundary Arbitration[1] between Great Britain and Brazil regarding the delineation of the southern frontier of British Guiana, one of the documents for which I was seeking was the long-lost[2] Journal of the famous Jesuit missionary, Samuel Fritz, who spent 37 years of his life in converting and civilizing the Indian tribes of the Upper Amazon. In 1901 my efforts to find the Journal were fruitless, but coming across references to MSS in the Biblioteca Publica at Evora in connection with Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Upper Amazon in the very period of Samuel Fritz's activities, I obtained permission on my second visit to Portugal in 1902 to investigate the contents of these documents.

Evora is the primatial see of Portugal; and the Biblioteca Publica occupies an annexe of the Archiepiscopal Palace; and I obtained the most courteous assistance of the Librarian, being allowed to work in hours when the building was closed to the public. My search was successful. The last MS in Codex CXV (1–15) was a document of 214 pages entitled

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[1] The Brazilian Government refused to accept the decision of the Arbitration Court at Paris (June, 1899) in the Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration, which assigned the so-called "Schomburgk line" as the demarcation of the southern boundary of British Guiana. The dispute, by a treaty dated April, 1901, was therefore referred to the Arbitration of the King of Italy. The King gave his decision June, 1904.

[2] See letter of Sir Clements Markham to the writer (Nov. 21, 1904) printed in the Appendix.

"Mission de los Õmaguas, Jurimaguas, Aysuares, Ibanomas, y otras Naciones desde Napo hasta el Rio Negro." It was written, as its heading implies, not like the other documents in Portuguese, but in Spanish, and it contained a full narrative of the life and labours of Samuel Fritz. In answer to a letter of enquiry the Librarian[1] informed me that the documents contained in Cod. CXV (1–15) formerly belonged to the Jesuit College at Pará, but that nothing was known of the name of the author of "The Mission of the Omaguas, etc." The author in fact never reveals his name, but as will be shown by evidence from the document itself, he was a contemporary of Father Fritz, was personally acquainted with him and was intimate with several of Fritz's missionary companions, and himself was at one time serving in one of the mission stations of the Upper Amazon. The fact that Fritz's Journal and letters, and the letters and notes of the other Jesuit missionaries, who worked in the Upper Amazon under and with Fritz, were accessible to and well known to the writer, is a clear indication that he (the writer) was attached to and possibly held high office in the Jesuit College at Quito[2]. The document probably fell into the hands of the Portuguese during one of their raids upon the Spanish mission stations, which Samuel Fritz had planted; which raids ultimately led to their destruction and their absorption in the Portuguese dominion.

The presence of this set of documents in the Archiepiscopal Library at Evora can be easily accounted for. In the year 1759, when that greatest of Portuguese statesmen, the Marquis de Pombal, was at the height of his power, a Royal Decree expelled the Jesuits from all the Portuguese dominions. The Jesuit missionaries, who were doing excellent work on the Amazon, were deported in circumstances of great cruelty. The colleges at Pará and elsewhere were suppressed and their

---

[1] The letter of the Librarian—Senhor Antonio Joaquim Lopez da Silva, junior—is dated Feb. 22, 1903. His words are: *Nada posso dizer—lhe com respeito do auctor do documento intitulado "Mission de los Õmaguas, etc." por isso que não consta do documento algum.*

[2] Possibly he may have held the office of Father Visitor.

possessions confiscated and carried off to Portugal, including their archives.

2. THE CONTENTS OF THE EVORA MS AND ITS SOURCES

The writer of this MS, as will be seen from his own statements, has embodied in his narrative a very large portion of Samuel Fritz's Journals and has supplemented them by the use of other and most valuable material, *i.e.* official letters written by Father Fritz himself; information derived from the letters of, and from notes made by, his companions; and from personal intercourse with them. It is divided into nine sections, each with its distinctive heading.

§ 1. PACIFICATION AND CUSTOMS OF THE OMAGUAS

The early part of this section is introductory, and gives a most interesting description derived from personal and first-hand sources of the customs, the mode of life and the habitations of the Omaguas. The writer then relates how in 1681 the headmen of this tribe, at the invitation of certain Christianized Indians of the Cocama tribe, paid a visit to the Spanish mission station, Pueblo de la Laguna, higher up the river; with the result that they prayed Father Herrero, the Jesuit Superior at that place, to send to them a Father to instruct them. He undertook to grant their request, but was unable to do so until 1686. It was in that year that Samuel Fritz arrived from Spain at the Jesuit College of Quito, and was sent by his Superiors to the Marañon to be the missionary of the Omaguas. Here follows a brief but most vivid description of the wonderful results of the first three years of Father Samuel's activities and ceaseless journeyings. The Omaguas received him in the most friendly manner, and going from island to island preaching, teaching, and baptizing, he met with extraordinary success in converting these people to the Christian faith. On the island, where he most frequently resided, he established his principal mission-settlement, and built there a church dedicated to San Joaquim, his patron saint.

Not content with so great an achievement, Father Samuel

proceeded to extend the sphere of his labours to a tribe, the Jurimaguas, who lived lower down the river. These people had already heard many reports concerning the teaching of the Father, and received him as being something more than a mortal man. He had here to combat among other heathen superstitions the firm belief of the Jurimaguas in the visits of an evil demon, who cruelly oppressed them; but once more the fervour and the deep faith of the missionary overcame all obstacles, and the Indians came in crowds to listen to his teaching and to be baptized. His personality seems to have exercised an almost mysterious power over these barbarians; and the Aysuares and Ybanomas, who lived still nearer to the mouth of the Rio Negro, expressed a wish that he should visit them. But no man, single-handed, could possibly deal with so extended a mission-field, and, despite his appeals to Quito, he found that he could get no help. But consumed by burning zeal, "without pause by day or night," he voyaged up and down the great river, trying to keep in touch with all his converts and catechumens, until at last in the principal village of the Jurimaguas he was stricken with a terrible illness. After prolonged sufferings the Father, feeling himself growing daily worse, determined to descend the river and to seek medical remedies in the city of Gran Pará.

The narrative up to this point is due to the writer of the MS, using the sources at his disposal. He now proceeds to make an interesting statement in his own person, as follows:

> For the sake of the learned I will copy here to the letter the Journal of the said descent to Pará and return from Pará to the Pueblo de la Laguna, the head-place of the missionaries of the Maynas, just as the Father himself left it written; who speaking in his annotations to the Map that he drew on this occasion (and that Father Juan de Narvaes afterwards in a reduced form published in the year 1707[1]) said thus:
>
> For better knowledge and general information concerning this great river Marañon or Amazon, I have made this geographical

[1] This is a statement of much interest. This map of 1707 was found by me on my visit to the Evora Library. Both maps, that of 1691 and that of 1707, were published by H.M. Government in the volume of maps accompanying the British case in the Boundary Arbitration, 1901-4.

map with no little toil and exertion, having navigated it in the greater part of its course as far as it is navigable. Although up to now so many maps have appeared, without prejudice to any one, I say that no one of them has been drawn with the proper survey of levels, since they neither saw nor took the levels of this great River, or they extracted them from authors, whose writings left them confused. With this new exploration of the whole of this river Amazon, that I have made and brought to light, I do not appraise my work for the carrying out of the duties of my undertaking, when one sees other greater undertakings of human diligence in this same enterprize either disappointed or hindered by fate, so that no one up till now has been able to accomplish his designs, unless I proclaim that, as a work wholly under the guidance of the Divine Providence, it was his pleasure to prostrate me with mortal attacks of illness the better to make use of me, as one of his chief instruments.

§ 2. JOURNAL OF THE DESCENT OF FATHER SAMUEL FRITZ, MISSIONARY OF THE CROWN OF CASTILE IN THE RIVER MARAÑON, FROM S. JOAQUIM OF THE OMAGUAS TO THE CITY OF GRAN PARÁ, IN THE YEAR 1689, AND RETURN OF THE SAID FATHER FROM THE SAME CITY TO THE PUEBLO DE LA LAGUNA, THE HEAD CENTRE OF THE MISSION OF THE MAYNAS, IN THE YEAR 1691

Father Samuel begins by stating that he left San Joaquim at the end of January, it being the time of rising flood; and in February he signalized his arrival at the village of the Jurimaguas by the building of a church dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes*. This year the annual flood rose to such an extraordinary height that it submerged the whole village. Here while occupying a shelter placed upon a roof the Father was attacked by grievous sickness—fever, dropsy and other complaints. In this shelter "only a handbreadth" above the rushing flood of water he remained for three months. Sleepless from pain and from the gruntings of alligators roving round, and with his small supplies of food half consumed by swarms of rats, the marvel is that the sick man survived.

The Journal here contains interesting particulars of the manners and gross superstitions of the Jurimaguas, and of the acquaintance that the Father made with Indians of other tribes—Aysuares, Ybanomas and Manaves.

As the waters began to fall, hearing from certain Ybanomas that some Portuguese from Pará were searching for sarsaparilla some eight days lower down, Fritz determined to go down and ask these Portuguese to allow him to accompany them to Pará for medical aid. He left the Jurimagua village on July 3rd. Convoyed by friendly Indians, he found a kindly welcome from all the tribes that he passed on his way downstream. He did not meet any Portuguese, however, until he had reached on July 30th the mission-station of Urubú, some distance below the mouth of the Rio Negro. The missionary, Father Theodosio Vegas, a Mercenarian, gave him the kindliest reception. Here he remained for a fortnight; but despite the care and attention bestowed upon him his illness increased, until he was so weak that he could not walk. The chief officer therefore of a Portuguese troop, which had arrived at Urubú on August 1st, determined to send the sick man to Pará in one of his canoes. His journey, which is fully described, was a long one, as he did not reach Gran Pará till September 11th—"more dead than alive." He was taken to the Jesuit College, where the Rector, Father Orlandini, lavished upon him every kindness and care, even personally serving him, as an infirmary attendant. Here Fritz stayed for two months. At the end of the two months Father Samuel was already on the way to convalescence; only to find that by the orders of the Governor and his Council, who regarded him as a spy, he was to be kept a prisoner at the college and not allowed to return to his mission, until the matter had been referred to the King at Lisbon. Here Fritz was kept in ward for 18 months, as he writes, "to the bitter affliction of my heart for the abandonment, in which meanwhile my neophytes remained." The cause of his detention, he explains, lay in the rival claims of the Spaniards and Portuguese as to the position of the boundary mark between their respective possessions set up by Pedro Teixeira in 1639, in his famous voyage from Pará to Quito and back[1].

[1] This question of the position of Pedro Teixeira's Act of Possession occurs many times in Samuel Fritz's Journals and Letters. It is discussed at length in the following section of the Introduction.

At last a letter arrived from Lisbon censuring the action of Governor Albuquerque for detaining the sick missionary, and ordering that he should at once be sent back at the expense of the Royal Treasury. Three more months passed before the preparations for the upstream voyage were completed; but on the 6th of July, 1691, Fritz set out from Pará in charge of an officer and six soldiers with a number of Indian rowers and servants. Day by day the Journal records the stages of this voyage. On arriving on September 2nd at the mouth of the Urubú the Father had again a most kindly welcome from the Mercenarian missionary at this place, Fr. Theodosio Vegas. Here evidence was brought to him of the extraordinary repute he had obtained among the natives. His imprisonment at Pará they held to have been the cause of a terrible earthquake that had recently been very destructive; and they were terrified, and believed that they would all perish if he were not released. All sorts of reports were current as to his wonder-working powers; and Father Vegas had much difficulty in persuading them that he was only a mortal man.

Continuing his voyage, the terrible effects of the earthquake were plainly visible and are graphically described in the Journal. At the mouth of the Rio Negro the Taromas[1], a native tribe on the north bank, besought Fritz to remain with them and to be their Father. During the whole of September the journey lay through a long stretch of the river without meeting any inhabitants. The villages that they passed were burnt and deserted; the people having fled to the forests through fear of the Portuguese slave-raiders. It was not until they reached the mouth of the Jupura that they found several of the villages of the Ybanomas and of the Aysuares tribes, with which Fritz had already made acquaintance, still inhabited, though even here some had fled at the

[1] A Portuguese mission was established a little later by the barefooted Carmelites among the Taromas; and a flourishing mission-settlement for a time existed. Later these people suffered at the hands of the slave-raiding troops and fled northwards to the sources of the Essequibo, where the remnants of the Taromas still dwell in British territory. This first Portuguese mission-settlement on the Rio Negro lay almost opposite the modern town of Manãos.

news that a Portuguese troop was coming up the river. On October 13th the Father was grieved to find that the mission station of the Jurimaguas, which he had founded and named *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes*, was deserted; and the church burnt to the ground. He thereupon, now that he was back in his own mission district, begged the Portuguese captain, Antonio Miranda, to return to Pará. Miranda however insisted that he had the orders of the Governor to conduct him as far as the first settlement of the Omaguas. On October 18th they arrived at the lowest Omagua village, only to find it abandoned. Pressed by Father Samuel the Portuguese at length consented to start on their homeward course, but not before the captain confessed that he had secret instructions from the Governor to take possession of all those lands for the Crown of Portugal. This statement and the claims put forward met once more with a strong protest from the missionary, but left him anxious and perturbed as to the future of these poor Indians, for whose conversion and welfare he had suffered so much. After returning to *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes*, he spent the month of October in gathering together his scattered Jurimagua converts. On November 3rd he started upstream to visit the Omaguas; and voyaging day by day without a pause, such was the distance he had to cover, that his mission station and church of San Joaquim was not reached until December 22nd. Here after so long an absence he was greeted with much rejoicing, and remained amongst his Omaguas until the beginning of February. It was now his duty to proceed to La Laguna to make his report to his Superior at this head mission-station. This journey occupied 25 days; and he there found that he had been regarded as dead and that supplications had been made for the repose of his soul.

Here follows an important passage from the author of the MS concerning the Journal of Samuel Fritz and the sources from which he compiled this narrative:

The Journal of Father Samuel touching his descent to Gran Pará and return to the Settlement of La Laguna ends at this point; this I have copied to the letter, adding only some clauses

concerning the dispute that he had with the Portuguese extracted from a letter the said Father wrote to his Superiors on this subject. Onwards from here, since his Journals are exceedingly prolix, and with some interruptions through certain leaves having disappeared, I will pursue the thread of my narrative, extracting from the said Journals whatever would appear to me most worthy of public remembrance, and supplying what is missing with notices that I have found in letters of other missionaries, contemporaries of the Father.

§ 3. FATHER SAMUEL PASSES FROM THE MARAÑON TO THE COURT OF LIMA, AND FROM THERE RETURNS ONCE MORE TO HIS MISSION OF THE OMAGUAS[1]

Father Samuel on his arrival at La Laguna was anxious to bring the question of the Portuguese encroachments before the *Real Audiencia* at Quito, but the Governor of Maynas happening to visit La Laguna thought it more advisable that such a serious matter should be brought before the Viceroy at Lima. It was accordingly decided that the Father should journey thither. It was a long, rough and dangerous journey, the details of which, our author tells us, he did not find in Fritz's Journals. The Father arrived at Lima on July 2nd, and at once directed his steps to the Jesuit Church of St Paul, where the whole community was assembled. In that community our author was almost certainly present, for the description of Father Samuel's personal appearance and garb, and of the reception that he met at Lima, appears to be that of an eyewitness, as may be gathered from the following extract:

> Father Samuel was a tall man, ruddy, and spare in appearance, venerable, with very curly beard. His dress was a short cassock reaching to the middle of his leg made of palm fibre, with hempen shoes on his feet, and a cross of *chonta*-wood in his hand. When our people suddenly saw that Apostolic Man accompanied by some Indians of strange face and dress, that he had brought with him from the Marañon, they were struck with astonishment thinking that they saw a Pachomius[2] that had just come up from the deserts of the Thebaid. A large part of Lima ran together for the spectacle;

[1] The narrative of this section is wholly due to the author of the MS.
[2] An Egyptian Cenobite monk of the 4th century.

and there was no one who, by the mere sight of him, did not hold him for a holy man. Our people (of the Jesuit College) vied with one another in exercising towards him the offices of the most delicate kindness.... The Provincial of the Province conducted him in person to the Palace of the Lord Viceroy, who received him with great demonstrations of love and veneration.

The Viceroy, the Conde de Moncobla, when he had heard from the missionary's own lips the story of his achievements in bringing so many and widely scattered tribes to the knowledge of the Gospel, single-handed and with no escort, and had further learnt from the study of his Journals the extent of his travels, and of the dangers and privations which he had passed through in the seven years that he had spent on the Marañon, was struck with amazement at such a record of heroic endurance and marvellous success. Many times was Fritz invited to the Palace, where the Viceroy repeatedly assured him of his favour and protection. The chief object of the Father's visit to Lima was, as already stated, to obtain from the Government substantial help in resisting the Portuguese encroachments upon his missions; and he therefore drew up a lengthy memorial dealing with the whole subject for the Viceroy's consideration.

This most interesting document is given in full by the author, as also the reply of the Fiscal Royal, and both are worthy of study.

The result was on the whole very satisfactory. A grant was made from the Royal Treasury for the needs of the mission; a promise was given that other missionaries should be sent from Quito to assist in the work, and also an escort of Spanish soldiers to protect them. The Viceroy himself contributed a sum of money from his own purse and a number of silver ornaments for the churches; but the burning question of the disputed boundary was quietly shelved.

Fritz set out from Lima on his return journey at the end of May, 1693, and our author tells us that on his way he carefully took the heights of his halting-places with a view to the perfecting of his map and geographical reckonings. He reached his mission of the Omaguas safely in August.

Having thus conducted Father Samuel to San Joaquim the author proceeds:

I will add here, as a conclusion to this paragraph, some statements that the same Father made, when he was at Lima, concerning the demarcation between the dominions of Portugal and Castile on the river Marañon, and which he left with other papers that he had written in Pará in the hands of the Lord Viceroy, so that he might be able with the greater substantiality to give information to His Majesty on the matter under consideration.

These papers were of considerable historical interest and value, and thanks are due to our author for the preservation of their arguments[1].

§ 4. LETTER OF FATHER SAMUEL TO FATHER DIEGO FRANCISCO ALTAMIRANO, VISITOR OF THE PROVINCE OF QUITO, IN WHICH AN ACCOUNT IS GIVEN OF WHAT OCCURRED IN THE MISSION OF OMAGUAS, JURIMAGUAS, ETC., FROM SEPTEMBER, 1693, TO THE END OF JULY, 1696

This letter, based as Fritz tells us on the notes made in his Journals, contains a continuous account of all that was of special interest in his mission work during three years. The subject of the Portuguese slave-raiding expedition, and of the attempts made by their leaders to seduce the natives to seek Portuguese protection, is constantly referred to, but with pride Father Samuel dwells upon the failure of these attempts, owing to the wonderful affection and loyalty to himself shown by these people, and of the reverence mingled with awe that his name inspired throughout the whole region, even in far-away districts that he had never visited.

§ 5. JOURNAL OF THE FATHER SAMUEL FRITZ, IN WHICH HE RELATES THAT WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THIS MISSION FROM THE YEAR 1697 TO THE YEAR 1703

In response to an appeal to the Father Superior, with regard more especially to certain disturbances that had occurred

[1] Here again the compiler of the "Fritz" MS, writing in the first person, furnishes additional proof that he was present at Lima at the time of Father Samuel's visit, and was able to consult the papers above mentioned.

among the natives of his mission, an officer and some soldiers were sent to help Father Samuel to quell the unrest. The little troop reached San Joaquim early in November; and everything was in a short time quietly settled. The soldiers were able to return on January 29th; and the Father took the opportunity to send a letter asking that these visits might be periodically repeated.

Fritz now determined to visit the Jurimaguas, and, voyaging chiefly by night, he accomplished the journey from San Joaquim to Nuestra Señora de las Niebes in one week, April 9th to 16th. Here he heard of the approach of a Portuguese troop and, as was his wont, he boldly went down to meet them. He found an officer and six soldiers accompanied by Fr. Manuel de la Esperança, Superior of the Shod-Carmelites, and another religious. The Carmelite informed him, that by order of the Governor and on petition of the Indians themselves, he had come to take possession of these settlements. Surprised at such a statement Father Samuel made as usual a strong protest. It was so far effective that the Portuguese abstained from violence, and agreed that each party should return; the Father to his mission higher up; they down-stream; and that the boundary question should remain in abeyance, until the decision of the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon was received.

Arriving at San Joaquim once more on June 13th, Father Samuel states in his Journal that nothing notable happened until the month of December, when he was comforted by the arrival fresh from Europe of two fellow-workers, Father Wenceslas Breyer and Father Francisco Vidra, both from Bohemia, and therefore countrymen of his own.

The early part of 1698 was occupied in discussions with Mativa, the principal chief of the Jurimaguas, who had come to San Joaquim to see him, concerning the proposed migration of the Jurimaguas, Aysuares and Ybanomas to a place of safety upstream out of reach of the Portuguese. Fritz was on the point of going down in person to the Jurimagua settlements, when he was summoned by the Father Superior to assist at La Laguna during his absence.

After some delay in making arrangements for his voyage, Father Samuel set out on August 6th, and arrived at La Laguna on September 1st. The Father Superior had left because of the destruction of a Spanish force by a heathen tribe, called Cununibos, in order to bring this disaster to the notice of the Governor and Superiors of the Province at Quito. Fritz therefore remained at La Laguna until the end of the year.

Reports now reached him from the two Fathers, whom he had left in the mission of the Omaguas, of serious disturbances and outrages that had occurred, the church itself having been desecrated and the sacred images and ornaments broken and profaned. Father Samuel on hearing this at once hurried back to San Joaquim. It appeared, however, that, although outrages had been committed, which had alarmed the still inexperienced missionaries in charge, these had been due to certain natives having been overcome by strong drink at one of their festal merry-makings. The Father after duly rebuking the offenders felt it to be his duty to remain at San Joaquim the whole of the rest of the year 1699, though very anxious to go down and visit the Jurimaguas.

During the spring months of the year 1700, deputations from the Jurimaguas and Aysuares kept arriving at San Joaquim begging Father Samuel to visit them in order to arrange for their leaving their present dwelling-places and going higher up the river, in accordance with the Father's wish, to a new settlement, where they would be safe from the Portuguese. But the Father, anxious as he was to grant their request, was unable to leave San Joaquim until the return of the Father Superior with an escort. As he waited patiently a letter arrived from the Father Superior on August 21st, bidding him to return to La Laguna, and from there proceed to Quito to bring back fresh workers for the mission, and the annual succour. Fritz at once obeyed, and reached La Laguna on September 9th.

No sooner had he arrived than news came from his assistant, Father Wenceslas, that the Jurimaguas and Aysuares had in large numbers passed San Joaquim on their way upstream,

and that more were following. On hearing this, by leave of the Father Superior, Fritz went down to meet them, carrying with him a supply of provisions and clothes. He met them near the mouth of the Napo to hear sad tales of the Portuguese outrages, which had forced them to fly. Only on November 20th was he able to set forth on his journey to Quito. Continuously travelling, it was not till January 22nd, 1701, that he arrived at his destination.

The Father met at Quito with an enthusiastic welcome from the President, the Bishop and all classes, but he fell ill of a violent fever, which nearly cost him his life. On his recovery he set out again, May 18th, for the Marañon, taking with him Father Juan Baptista Sanna, who was destined to do much good service at San Joaquim, and elsewhere.

The Journal now contains a day by day record of the return journey, San Joaquim being reached on August 6th. Here Fritz was grieved to hear of a rising among the Omaguas at the instigation of their principal chief, Payoreva; and that they had set fire to the church and to the house of the missionary, Father Wenceslas. Fritz at once sent to Borja for military assistance; and the lieutenant with twenty soldiers arrived on August 25th. Order was speedily restored; the chief Payoreva seized; and the heads of the mutiny punished. Payoreva was carried off as a prisoner to Borja. He however effected his escape, came back in February, 1702, to San Joaquim and persuaded a large party of the Omaguas to abandon the mission settlement. In consequence of this outbreak, and having now no military escort, Father Samuel determined with a sad heart to go to the new settlement of the Jurimaguas, taking with him the church ornaments for safety.

At the peril of his life Fritz now ventured to descend the river in search of the fugitive Omaguas, and such was his marvellous influence that he persuaded all whom he met, including Payoreva himself, to return to San Joaquim. Not content with this, the courageous man again went downstream to bring up, if possible, such of the Jurimaguas and Aysuares as had remained in their old homes, to join their fellow-tribesmen higher up. He fell in with a Portuguese

troop accompanied by two friars, and as was his wont boldly protested against their presence, in what he claimed to be Spanish territory. He very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by them, and carried to Pará. He nevertheless succeeded in bringing back with him a number of Indians to the Jurimaguas settlement near the mouth of the Napo, having been absent on this expedition for three months.

§ 6. A BRIEF ACCOUNT IS GIVEN OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THE YEARS 1703–1704–1705–1706–1707

The information contained in this section is entirely due to the author of the MS and is derived from sources to which he had access, the Journals of Samuel Fritz for this period having been lost in the manner thus described:

> Here we are obliged to interrupt the Journal of Father Samuel, since the notes that he made during these five years, until the return of the said Father from Quito to Archidona in the year 1707, together with other important papers, were lost in the river Caudache. That which can be gathered from the letters of other contemporary missionaries is, that Father Samuel was in the year 1704 appointed Superior of the whole Mission.

At the same time Father Juan Baptista Sanna was nominated as his successor in the mission of the Omaguas and Jurimaguas, and the brief narrative, probably derived from Father Sanna himself, relates with what energy and success he carried on his work; his Superior, as we should expect, giving him all the assistance he could, and many times visiting the mission in person. In his new position, as Superior of the missions on the Marañon, Father Samuel continued to make representations to Pará, Quito, Lima, Madrid and Rome on the subject of what he held to be unjustifiable Portuguese encroachments. He had during this period many attacks of illness, which left him very prostrate.

In the month of November, 1706, he determined to pay another visit to Quito to beg for further mission workers, and arrived on January 21st, 1707, in very broken health. To his great joy ten fellow-workers were granted to him by the Provincial of the Province, and despite a serious attack of

fever, and the strong advice of the physicians who attended him, as soon as he became partly convalescent, Fritz resolved to accompany his new comrades to their mission-field on the Marañon. He set out at the end of May—a trying time because of the continuous rainfall and floods. It was on this journey, that, in crossing the river Caudache, the box containing the Journals of Father Samuel for the previous four years was carried away and lost. The entire party however after countless hardships at last reached the mouth of the Napo on July 22nd, 1707.

§ 7. HERE PROCEEDS THE JOURNAL OF FATHER SAMUEL TO THE YEAR 1723

The Journal here begins with the start from Napo of the Father with his comrades on August 5th, 1707. On the 11th, in a dangerous passage, known as the Judas, a canoe was upset, and two Fathers, Cobos and Matthias, narrowly escaped drowning. On the 27th they reached the mission-station of Jurimaguas, where they were received with much rejoicing by the missionary in charge, Juan Baptista Sanna. On September 9th, leaving four Fathers with Father Sanna to work among the Omaguas, Fritz with the rest went up to La Laguna, arriving there on the 30th. He remained there for the rest of the year.

At the beginning of 1708 bad news reached Father Samuel of how a Portuguese troop had arrived at the Jurimaguas settlement, and had seized and carried down the river eighteen families, and in descending the troop further captured and took with them as slaves more than 100 Omaguas. Father Bollarte, who had been an eyewitness of these outrages, was at once despatched by his Superior to report at Quito what had occurred. While awaiting a reply from Quito, Fritz paid a visit of inspection higher up the river, which occupied him some months. Father Bollarte returned on November 24th with the information that the Royal Audiencia had despatched a body of 100 men down the river to expel the Portuguese.

On March 1st, 1709, a messenger came to La Laguna to report that a body of Portuguese were coming up the river, and that their commander had ordered Father Sanna and his helpers to retire from the province of the Omaguas, which was Portuguese territory; otherwise he would take him and the other missionaries prisoners and would carry them to Pará, from whence they would be embarked for Lisbon. Father Samuel took prompt measures. He sent upstream to the Lieutenant of Borja to send armed aid to the Omagua mission as quickly as possible, and also four canoes down the river to bring away the missionaries, in case the Portuguese should carry out their threat. He also wrote to the Portuguese leader, by name Ignacio Correa, the text of the letter being given in full in the Journal. It is at once an appeal, and a protest of the same character, as others, which have been previously noticed.

Various reports kept reaching the Superior at La Laguna of the movements of the Portuguese; and at last he was able on July 8th to set out with a body of two officers, forty soldiers and a large number of Indians for San Joaquim. On the 17th they reached their destination to find that fifty soldiers despatched from Quito were already there, but to Father Samuel's disgust he found these to be worthless, undisciplined, and with scarcely any arms.

The Portuguese on hearing of the approach of a Spanish force had already retired, but with a body of picked men Father Fritz pursued them down the river, and, coming up with them, was able to rescue almost all the captives. The Portuguese themselves he allowed to return to Pará, after having disarmed them. The Father now visited all the settlements of the Aysuares, whom he persuaded to leave their present habitations, and to return with him upstream out of the reach of the Portuguese. He begun his return journey on August 14th and arrived at San Joaquim on September 21st, so weakened by a violent and protracted attack of diarrhœa, that he could scarcely keep his feet. He was still further depressed by the death of Father Bollarte from dropsy soon after his arrival.

On October 17th he sent back the contingent of soldiers from Quito, and with them five Portuguese prisoners, leaving San Joaquim once more without an armed escort for its protection. Not till November 7th did the state of his health permit the Father to set out for La Laguna, taking with him the Jurimaguas and Aysuares to a new settlement at Guallaga, where he appointed Father Joseph Ximenes to be their missionary.

In April 1710 the Superior received a despatch from Father Sanna saying that, information having reached him of the approach of a large Portuguese troop, he is preparing to transport the people from San Joaquim, and part of those from San Pablo, higher up. On June 8th still more grievous news reached the Father from Quito. Father Stanislas Vasque, on his way from Quito to La Laguna, had met Indian fugitives, who told him that the Portuguese in strong force had arrived at San Joaquim, and finding that the Omaguas were moving away pursued them and not only killed many of them and took others captive, but succeeded in seizing Father Sanna in his canoe, and making him prisoner at a place called Jarapa, where he was establishing a new settlement. The Portuguese had said that, but for want of provisions, they would have gone on to La Laguna to capture Father Samuel himself. The lack of food however compelled them to withdraw; and Father Samuel, as soon as he could, sent down some people to Jarapa to bring from there the church furniture, and to persuade the remnant of the Omaguas and Jurimaguas to come up to La Laguna; and steps were taken for the protection of that important mission-centre should the Portuguese attack it. The year 1710 thus closed very gloomily.

The following year 1711 appears to have passed without any further attack high up the river, but in April discouraging news reached the Superior from Quito that the Royal Audiencia, while condemning the acts of violence committed by the Portuguese, had not sufficient funds to bear the cost[1] of sending down an expedition to repel them at so great a dis-

[1] This is not to be wondered at for the year 1711 saw Spain utterly exhausted by the struggles of the war of the Spanish Succession.

tance, and in such an unhealthy climate. In January 1712 Father Samuel sent down two Fathers to visit the Omagua province and report on the condition in which the Portuguese had left it. The messengers returned in March with details of the manner in which Father Sanna, who had taken refuge in the forest, was captured, and how the ornaments, pictures and bells of the churches had been carried off, and the whole province of Omagua virtually destroyed. Scattered groups of fugitives came up later to settle in the Ucayali and at Guallaga. At the close of this year Father Samuel was relieved from his charge as Superior of the missions, and a successor appointed, but during 1713 he remained, as a worker, at La Laguna.

Fritz, therefore, in 1714 once more resumed his task, as an ordinary missionary. To use his own words—"on the 10th of January I set out from La Laguna for Xeberos to serve from this time forwards in this Settlement in company with Father Francisco Vidra." The Journal records the arrival in April of a body of Portuguese commanded by the Sergeant-major of Pará, who were sent by the Governor by order of the King of Portugal to restore the prisoners and a portion of the church ornaments that had been carried away, and to ask in return for the restoration of the Portuguese prisoners sent to Quito. They did not however, Fritz remarks, offer to give up the lands and missions of the Crown of Castile. He likewise records that he received a letter from Father Sanna from Lisbon, saying that he (Father Sanna) had obtained permission to return to Spain, but not to return to the Amazon. Owing to the war he had no wish however to go to Madrid, and, instead of doing so, went out as a missionary to Japan.

The narrative from 1715 to 1723 is much abbreviated by our author. It contains a list of the various missionaries, who took charge of the Omagua settlement in the Ucayali. Among these Father Juan de Zaldarriaga died at his post on April 14th, 1716; and his successor Father Luis Coronado on March 21st, 1719, both from haemorrhage.

Father Samuel himself continued all this time quietly

working at the settlement of the Xeberos, having ceased, after serving the office of Superior, any longer to journey from place to place converting and organizing as in earlier years.

The narrative concludes with the words: "Here the Journal of Father Samuel touching the Mission of the Omaguas, Jurimaguas, etc., comes to an end."

§ 8. BRIEF RECAPITULATION OF THE DEEDS, THE VIRTUES AND THE DEATH OF FATHER SAMUEL

This section from the biographical point of view is of especial interest, and is entirely from the pen of our author, who thus describes his purpose, and the source which he chiefly employed.

Whoever will read attentively the Journal of the Father, cannot fail to acquire a fair knowledge of this Apostolic Man, whom it seems that God chose to go forth as a Missionary, fearless and unshaken, in the midst of stormy perils which at times are the arms of Hell against those that devote themselves to the conversion of the Heathen. Nevertheless for our fuller knowledge of him, I will make here a brief recapitulation of his deeds, virtues and death, drawn in large part from certain notes left by Father Wenceslas Breyer, also a Missionary on the Marañon and a countryman of Father Samuel, with whom he had familiar intercourse and who was for some time his companion in the Mission of the Omaguas.

This most valuable account of Samuel Fritz's life and work, without which, as the writer truly says, a mere study of the contents of his Journals would leave an incomplete impression of the character, the versatile talents, and spirited zeal of the great missionary, furnishes many necessary details for the biographical sketch, which follows. It is a wonderful record of the life-long and devoted labours of this extraordinary man.

§ 9. STATE OF THE MISSION OF THE OMAGUAS AND JURIMAGUAS AFTER THE YEAR 1715

This section contains an account from first-hand knowledge of the settlement of the Omaguas on the Ucayali and of the Jurimaguas at Guallaga after they had moved from their

original lands at the instigation of Father Samuel to escape from the raids of the Portuguese; and the names of the missionaries, who served in these mission-villages, are given. Of the Jurimaguas the author speaks in very favourable terms as being the most capable, industrious and courteous people to be found among the Indians of the Marañon. He speaks from personal knowledge, for he writes:

> I make special mention of this as I stayed in the Mission-Station of the Jurimaguas in the year 1731 on the occasion when I assisted in it for some months in company with its Missionary.

He then continues:

> As regards the manners and reformation of the Omaguas the account of their Missionary, who is today Father Carlos Brentano, is as follows.

This account is of peculiar interest for the description that it gives of the two seminaries which had been established, one for the education and training of boys; the other of girls. The boys enter at the age of 8 or 9; the girls at 12 years and they stay until marriage. The daily routine is given in detail (every hour being occupied) and includes not merely religious exercises and instruction, but lessons in the Inca and Spanish languages, reading, writing, singing, playing the guitar and violin, the handling of tools, and almost every kind of useful industry. Athletic exercises and training in the use of weapons are not neglected. These must have been truly model institutions.

II. FATHER SAMUEL FRITZ—A SHORT BIOGRAPHY

1654 Samuel Fritz was born on April 9th at Ornavia (?), a town of Bohemia.

1673 He was admitted this year into the Society of Jesus, having studied humane letters, philosophy and theology with such brilliancy that his Superiors destined him from the outset for high positions.

1686 Having chosen the vocation of a missionary he was sent to the Jesuit College at Quito, from whence he set out to take charge of the mission of the Omaguas and other heathen tribes of the Amazon. He went forth alone, and was the first missionary to preach the Gospel in those parts.

1686–9 Father Samuel visits all the islands of the Omaguas teaching, converting and baptizing. He is everywhere well-received, meets with great success, and founds the principal mission-station of San Joaquim, where a church is built.

At the invitation of their chiefs he proceeds lower down the river to the Jurimaguas, where he founds a mission-station and builds a church dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes*. He also visited the Aysuares and the Ybanomas still lower down, and met with like success.

1689 Is attacked with serious illness at the mission-village of the Jurimaguas, and during the time of high flood lies prostrate for three months. On July 3rd, 1689, he set out downstream in the hope of finding medical assistance at Pará. At the Portuguese mission-station at the mouth of the Urubú he was kindly treated for a fortnight, and on August 15th continued his journey with a Portuguese troop returning to Pará. He arrived at that city, September 11th, very weak and ill, and was

received at the Jesuit College, finding there every care and attention. At the end of two months he began to recover his health and strength.

1689–91 Suspected of being a spy, he is detained a prisoner by order of the Governor of Maranham, until instructions should be received from Lisbon. He remained a prisoner for 22 months.

1691 In April 1691 orders were received from the King of Portugal that Fritz should be set free and conducted back to his mission. He started on his return voyage, July 6th, attended by a Portuguese escort and reached the Jurimagua mission-station of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* on October 20th. Here he insisted on the return of the Portuguese, and after ten days' rest he continued his journey upstream and arrived, December 22nd, at the mission-station of the Omaguas, San Joaquim.

The geographical knowledge acquired during these two eventful voyages to and from Pará was embodied in the map of the River Amazon dated 1691, drawn by Samuel Fritz, and containing the first (approximately) correct delineation of the main stream of that river and of the mouths of its affluents[1]. In his annotations to this map the Father says:

> for better knowledge and general information concerning this great river Marañon I have made this geographical map with no little toil and exertion, having navigated it in the greater part of its course as far as it is navigable.

It should however be added that it was not until Father Fritz made his long and arduous journey from La Laguna to Lima and back in 1693 that he acquired that knowledge of the higher course of the river, which is not the least valuable part of his map. The care he took on this journey to register levels and obtain correct geographical reckonings is recorded.

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[1] See Appendix, p. 148. The map dated 1707, the author of the Evora MS tells us, was a reduced form of the map of 1691, and was published by Father Juan de Narvaes.

1692 Leaving San Joaquim at the beginning of February, Father Samuel arrived at the head mission-station of the Marañon, Santiago de la Laguna, after a voyage of 25 days. The Vice-Superior then in charge of La Laguna was Fritz's fellow-countryman, Henrique Richter, who spent his life for twelve years in devoted missionary labours on the river Ucayali. He was murdered by the Cununibos in 1695.

Father Samuel was anxious to go to Quito to give an account to the *Real Audiencia* of the Portuguese aggression upon Spanish territory; but the Governor of Maynas and the Superior at La Laguna held that it was better that he should bring so important a matter before the Viceroy at Lima. The Father set out after a short rest and journeying by the Guallaga [Hualaga] and Paranapura, and from thence to Mayobamba, Caxamarca and Truxillo, he arrived at Lima on July 2nd. He met with the most friendly reception from the Viceroy, and the Father Provincial. He had many conferences with the Viceroy and embodied in a memorial a detailed account of the grievances of which he complained. This memorial received a favourable answer from the Fiscal Royal.

1693 Fritz remained at Lima till the end of May, 1693, when he departed with many presents and promises of help in his work and in the defence of his missions. He returned by way of Jaen and the defile of the Pongo, taking as he went careful measurements and levels for the perfecting of his map. He reached San Joaquim in August of this year.

1694 The Father was engaged in moving a large number of the Omaguas higher up the river to be out of reach of the Portuguese, and he founded two new mission villages, *Nuestra Señora de Guadelupe* and *San Pablo*.

1695 Hearing that a Portuguese troop had ascended as far as the Jurimaguas, the Father on February 24th started downstream and travelling by night as well as by

day arrived at the Jurimagua mission-station, *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes*, on March 14th. Here the chiefs of the Aysuares and Ybanomas came up to consult the Father. In consequence of the threats of the Portuguese to return in force, he tries to persuade these Indians to move higher up the river.

Fritz remained with the Jurimaguas till April 23rd, when he set out upstream once more, reaching San Joaquim on June 4th.

1696 The Father again visited the Jurimaguas. He arrived at *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* on March 5th and remained till March 28th, reaching San Joaquim on May 14th. At the end of July he went upstream to the settlement of Xeberos, where he remained till the beginning of October, when he returned to San Joaquim.

1697 Disturbances among the Omaguas. The Father having obtained an officer and some soldiers from Borja visited San Joaquim, San Pablo, and Guadelupe and restored quiet.

Starting from San Joaquim, April 9th, the Father went downstream to visit *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* and his Jurimagua mission. Hearing of the approach of a Portuguese troop accompanied by the Provincial of the Shod-Carmelites and another religious, Fritz went to meet them. He was informed that, by orders of the Governor and on petition of the chiefs of the Jurimaguas, Aysuares and Ybanomas, the troop was coming up to take possession of these lands. After a strong protest from Fritz, and much argument, it was agreed that the boundary question should be left to the decision of the home authorities; meanwhile both the Father and the Portuguese should depart simultaneously from the Jurimaguas; he upstream; they downstream. This parting took place on May 23rd. The Father again arrived at San Joaquim on June 13th. He resided at San Joaquim till the end of the year, when two new fellow-

workers joined him, both like himself from Bohemia, Fathers Wenceslas Breyer and Francisco Vidra.

1698 The Father remained at San Joaquim until August. In compliance with the orders of the Superior he left on August 6th for La Laguna, where he arrived September 1st. In the absence of the Father Superior who had gone to Quito, he remained in charge at La Laguna during the rest of the year.

1699 Fathers Breyer and Vidra having come up from San Joaquim in fear of their lives, owing to disturbances among the Omaguas, Father Samuel went down with them to that mission-station, appeased the disturbances, and remained at San Joaquim for the rest of the year.

1700 The Father anxiously awaited for some months the arrival of the Father Superior at San Joaquim with an escort for the purpose of visiting the Jurimaguas and Aysuares and assisting them to ascend higher up out of reach of the Portuguese, but at last on August 21st he received a letter from the Superior requesting him to go up at once to La Laguna, and from there to Quito to bring down fresh missionaries. He arrived at La Laguna September 9th, but on hearing that a number of Jurimaguas had reached San Joaquim, flying from the Portuguese, he obtained leave to go and meet them, and assist them to find a settlement near the mouth of the Napo. Having accomplished this task, he then set out by the river Napo for Quito on December 22nd.

1701 The Father reached Quito January 22nd, and was attacked with serious illness March 29th. On recovery left Quito, May 18th, accompanied by Father Juan Baptista Sanna, as new missionary at San Joaquim. Toilsome journey of nearly three months. Found it necessary to send to Borja for troops to quell disturbances among the Omaguas. The force arrived August 25th; the offenders were punished; and the leader, Payoreva, carried off as a prisoner. The escort remained until November 5th, having restored quiet throughout the mission.

1702 Payoreva escaped, and again caused trouble. Father Samuel finding the outbreak serious with much sadness abandoned San Joaquim, taking the church ornaments to the new settlement of the Jurimaguas. In April hearing of a Portuguese raiding force having ascended as far as San Joaquim, the Father set out at once down the river to visit the Omaguas, Jurimaguas and Aysuares, and persuade these Indians to come up out of reach of these raids. He spent three months on this journey.

1703–7 A gap occurs here in Fritz's Journal. In 1704 he was appointed Superior of the whole mission, Father Sanna taking charge of the mission of the Omaguas and Jurimaguas. As Superior during these years Father Samuel made repeated visits to these missions, where he found Father Sanna doing excellent work. He made many requests to the various authorities for further help in these extended missions, and finally determined to pay in person a second visit to Quito, starting from La Laguna early in November, 1706.

1707 He reached Quito, January 21st, 1707, quite prostrate and broken in health, and was compelled to take some rest. His zeal enabled him to obtain ten new workers to return with him to the Marañon. He sent on four of these, but a violent attack of fever kept him at Quito till the end of May, but when half convalescent, and though the floods were at their height, he set out with six companions. In crossing the river Caudache a canoe was upset by the violence of the current; and a box containing the Journal of the previous four years and other papers was lost. On July 22nd the Father with the ten new missionaries met at the Puerto del Napo, and from thence proceeded to the Marañon, two of his companions narrowly escaping being drowned through the capsizing of a canoe. Four workers were left with Father Sanna. The Superior with the others went up to La Laguna, which was reached September 30th. Here the Father remained for the rest of the year.

1708 News reaches the Superior at La Laguna of serious acts of violence committed by a Portuguese troop among the Omaguas. He sends to Borja, and also to Quito, for help. His messenger Father Bollarte left for Quito January 24th and returned November 24th with the message that the Royal Audiencia would despatch 100 men to expel the Portuguese.

1709 On receiving news that the Portuguese had advanced as far as the new settlement of the Jurimaguas and had carried away a large number of prisoners, Father Samuel determined to descend with a large force of soldiers and Indians from Borja, and of others that had come down the Napo from Quito. He started on July 8th and went down visiting all the settlements of the Omaguas, Jurimaguas and Aysuares, taking several Portuguese prisoners. On August 14th he began his return journey. A large number of his native converts left their homes and accompanied him higher up the river. He did not return to La Laguna till November 28th, having to arrange for the fugitive Jurimaguas and Aysuares to make a new settlement at Guallaga.

1710 News came on June 8th that the Portuguese had again attacked the mission-station of San Joaquim and had carried off many Omaguas, and Father Juan Baptista Sanna himself, to Pará. He makes preparations for the defence of La Laguna should the Portuguese attack it.

1711 The Father Provincial at Quito informs Father Samuel that owing to lack of funds the Royal Audiencia can take no serious steps for defending the Marañon missions.

1712 In January, and again in October, the Father Superior sends down messengers with an escort to enquire about the state of things at San Joaquim. The report is that the Omaguas have been entirely dispersed. The fugitives were collected to form a settlement on the Ucayali. Father Joseph Ximenes is appointed as their missionary.

1713 Father Samuel, though at the end of the previous year he had been relieved of his charge as Superior of the Marañon missions, continues to reside and work at La Laguna.

1714 In January of this year he, with Father Francisco Vidra as assistant, becomes missionary of the Xeberos.

1715–23 Father Samuel worked as resident missionary of the Xeberos.

1724 Samuel Fritz died on March 18th. On the following April 9th he would have completed his 70th year[1].

[1] The account given in the Evora MS (section 8) of the later life and the death of Samuel Fritz is derived largely from the notes of Father Wencelas Breyer, a companion of the Father. The story of his death is derived from an eyewitness. The statement therefore made in the late Sir Clements Markham's introduction to *The Valley of the Amazons* (p. xxxiv), that Fritz died in 1730 at the age of 80 years is clearly a mistake. The writer of the Evora MS himself served as a missionary among the Jurimaguas in 1731, and it is impossible that he could have been in error.

III. THE *ACT OF POSSESSION*[1] OF PEDRO TEIXEIRA IN 1639

Samuel Fritz throughout the whole of the thirty-seven years of his missionary work in the Amazon was engaged in continuous controversy with the Portuguese authorities at Pará concerning the boundary line between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the Amazonian region, and reference is repeatedly made[2], in his Journal and in his letters of protest against the Portuguese pretensions, to the *Act of Possession* taken by Pedro Teixeira upon his return voyage from Quito to Pará (1637–9), and to the memorial or boundary mark he set up. To quote his words:

> This memorial then is the cause now of the whole dispute; and as already there is no one who has an exact remembrance of the spot where the said memorial was placed, it is now pretended that it was farther up than the province of the Omaguas.

The Portuguese in fact claimed that the memorial was placed at the mouth of the river Aguarico, an affluent of the river Napo. Fritz, though unable to fix the exact spot, asserted that the *Act of Possession* was carried out at a point on the main stream much lower down in the direction of the mouth of the Rio Negro. The distinguished French scientist and traveller, De la Condamine, saw at Pará the original of Teixeira's *Act of Possession* in 1742, and he decided[3] against the Portuguese view. On the other hand, as against Fritz and De la Condamine, the Portuguese claim was stoutly maintained by the Portuguese official, Ribeiro de Sampaio[4], in 1775.

Since the days of Fritz and De la Condamine a considerable amount of fresh documentary evidence has come to light bearing upon Pedro Teixeira's voyage, with the result

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[1] *Auto de Posse.*

[2] See pp. 87–90, also 66–8, 76, 82, 115, 119, 120, 151, 152, 153, 159.

[3] *Relation abrégée d'un voyage de la rivière des Amazones.*

[4] In a diary that he published of his official exploration of the Upper Amazon in 1774–5.

of establishing beyond reasonable doubt what was the actual spot where the *Act of Possession* took place, and the memorial was set up[1].

The cause, which led to the despatch from Pará of the expedition under the command of Teixeira, was as follows. In 1636 a body of soldiers, under the command of Captain Juan de Palacios, accompanied by five Franciscan missionaries, left Quito to found a settlement on the river Napo amongst a tribe known as the Encabellados. The settlement was made at a spot about twenty leagues lower than the mouth of the Aguarico, an affluent of the Napo. In an attack made upon the new settlement by the natives, Palacios was killed. The bulk of his followers thereupon resolved to return to Quito; but five soldiers with two of the Franciscans, allured by the report of gold mines lower down the river, set off in a large boat, descended the Napo, entered the Amazon, and after four months' voyaging arrived at Pará, February, 1637.

This extraordinary feat on the part of these Spanish Franciscans stirred the Portuguese to emulation, and a great expedition started upstream from Pará for Quito in July, 1637, under the experienced Pedro Teixeira as captain-major. Having reached the abandoned settlement on the river Napo, where Palacios had been killed, Teixeira left his fleet under the command of Pedro da Costa Favella and Pedro Bayan; and himself with a number of chosen followers made his way to Quito. The Spanish authorities gave him a friendly reception; but the presence of this Portuguese expedition in the heart of the Castilian dominion, aroused jealousy; and instructions came from Lima that Teixeira and his fleet must return; and two Spanish Jesuits were ordered to accompany Teixeira and to make a careful report of all that they observed upon the voyage, for the information of the Council of the Indies. Christoval de Acuña, one of the Jesuit Fathers, was the actual historiographer of the return journey, and his

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[1] For a full account of Teixeira's voyage, see my lecture printed in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* for 1920.

report[1] contains the first detailed account of the Amazon, its affluents and its inhabitants, that we possess. Teixeira arrived at Pará, December, 1639.

It was in the course of this return voyage that Pedro Teixeira solemnly took possession of a certain site in the name of Philip IV, as King of Portugal, and set up a memorial as a mark of delimitation between the Portuguese and Spanish dominions on the river Amazon. The following is a translation of the actual *Auto de Posse* made from a copy now in the Municipal Library at Oporto:

In the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1639, on the 16th day of August, before the mouths of the Rio do Ouro, Pedro Teixeira, Captain-Major for His Majesty in the expedition and exploration of Quito and the River of the Amazons, being there present and having just returned from the said exploration, commanded the Captains, Ensigns and soldiers that accompanied him to appear before him, and when all were present, he stated and announced to them that he had received orders from the Governor of the State of Maranham, in pursuance of the command which he had from His Majesty, to make choice of the best place he could find in the explored territory for establishing a settlement there; and whereas the place where they then were seemed to him suitable, both on account of the gold of which he had information, and because there was food, good air, and lands for all kinds of crops, pasture, and cattle-raising, he asked their opinion, as they had seen all the rest of the explored territory and the river. Then each and all said that in the whole extent of the explored territory, there was no better site or rivers suitable or adequate for this settlement than the one in which they were, for the reasons stated; and when the Captain-Major heard this he took possession of the same in the name of King Philip IV, our Lord, for the Crown of Portugal for the said site and the rest of the lands, rivers, streams and commerce, taking earth in his hands and throwing it into the air, crying with a loud voice that he took possession of the said lands and site in the name of the King Philip IV, our Lord, for the Crown of Portugal; that if any one had objection to make to such possession or knew of any impediments, he was to put them before him, for the Notary of the said expedition and exploration was there and would receive them; although Religious of the Company

[1] *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de las Amazonas*, published at Madrid, 1641.

of Jesus, by order of the *Royal Audiencia* of Quito, were in our company, and because it is a remote country with few Indian inhabitants, there was no one on their behalf or from elsewhere to make objection to possession being taken: whereupon I, the Secretary, took earth in my hands and gave it into the hand of the Captain-Major in the name of King Philip IV, our Lord, to be thereby invested with possession of the said site, and all the lands, streams and commerce; which site the Captain-Major named *A Franciscana*; and of all the above I, the Secretary, made this *Act of Possession*, and the said Captain-Major signed it, and the witnesses present were: Colonel Bento Rodrigues de Oliveira, Major Fellipe de Mattos-Cutrim, Captain Pedro da Costa Favella, Captain Pedro Bayan de Abreu,.....all of whom signed here with the said Captain-Major Pedro Teixeira and I, Joaõ Gomes de Andrade, Secretary of the Voyage, who wrote this paper.

Let us first deal with the Portuguese pretension that this *Act of Possession* took place at the mouth of the river Aguarico, one of the main tributaries of the river Napo, itself an affluent of the Amazon. The evidence offered by Acuña's official narrative seems to be conclusive against this claim. He states that the Portuguese fleet under Pedro da Costa Favella and Pedro Bayan remained for eleven months, while Teixeira was at Quito, at the spot where Captain Juan de Palacios had some two years before made a settlement and lost his life. Here in their forays to obtain food they were engaged in constant warfare with the natives. This spot, according to Acuña, was twenty leagues below the mouth of the Aguarico. Therefore in the first place neither Pedro da Costa nor Pedro Bayan, whose names are among the signatories of the *Auto de Posse*, could have been present. Again is it credible that the two Spanish Jesuits, Acuña and Artieda, who accompanied the return journey officially, should not have protested against the act of the Portuguese captain-major in taking possession of a site higher up the river Napo than the Spanish settlement among the Encabellados, where Palacios had recently lost his life? Acuña further thus describes the river Aguarico as "well known, both for its unhealthy climate[1] and for the gold which is found in it; from which it takes the name of the *Rio del*

[1] *su temple menos sano.*

Oro, river of gold." Teixeira's *Act of Possession* was indeed taken, according to the text of that document, "before the mouths of the *Rio do Ouro*," but it will be shown later and by the authority of Acuña that there were two rivers known as "rivers of gold," and the site selected by the Portuguese captain-major is expressly commended for its "good air[1]." It could not therefore be situated at the mouth of the Aguarico. Further, the date of the *Auto de Posse* is August 16th. As Teixeira's return journey started on February 10th and ended December 12th, his memorial must have been set up at some point midway between Quito and Pará, long after the expedition had passed the junction of the rivers Aguarico and Napo.

So far we have been dealing with negative evidence; we will now proceed to bring forward positive evidence to indicate the actual spot where the *Act of Possession* was carried out.

The voyage of Teixeira's expedition upstream must have been much more arduous than the descent, but unfortunately there exists no narrative like Acuña's to tell of the difficulties surmounted, and the privations endured. Beyond the facts recorded by Acuña that the expedition succeeded in advancing far up the Napo, and that the captain-major with some chosen companions arrived at Quito, nothing for two centuries and a half was known. In recent years however several MSS have been found dealing with the voyage upstream. An anonymous MS in the Public Library of Madrid with the title *Viaje del Capitan Pedro Texeira aguas arriba del Rio de las Amazonas* has been published[2] with an excellent introduction by Sr Jimenez de la Espada. Internal evidence shows that the contents of this document were derived from Bento da Costa, Teixeira's chief pilot; that it was written at Quito while Teixeira was residing there; and that it was known to and was used by Acuña[3]. I was myself fortunate in meeting with three MSS; two in the National Library at Lisbon

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[1] *boas ares.* [2] 1889.

[3] Whole paragraphs in Acuña's narrative are borrowed from this Quito MS, which Jimenez de la Espada has shown to have been almost certainly the work of Padre Rojas, Rector of the Jesuit College at Quito.

written by companions of Teixeira; and a third of a date some thirty years later in the Bodleian Library[1]; containing a few otherwise unknown, but interesting details. It is with the two Lisbon MSS that we are here concerned.

The earlier of these was a report by Ignacio de Rego Barreto[2], written in 1644 at the request of King Joaõ IV, concerning the prospects of finding gold on the Amazon. After relating the starting of the voyage, and how Teixeira and his companions on their way upstream

proceeded to mark out all the Rio das Amazonas and the remarkable things it contains, among which that which demanded the greatest consideration was that after a period of 150[3] days' journey, when they were resting themselves on the bank of this river in a native village, they found the greater number of the natives wore circlets and bracelets of gold and other objects after their custom; and when our people inquired where it was they found this metal, a river was pointed out to them running into that of the Amazonas, wherein gold could be obtained by washing, coming from certain mines which are distant two days' journey up the river in canoes; and that there was such an abundance of this metal that if our men cared to load with it the canoes in which they journeyed, it would be very easy. A council was held upon this matter and everybody was of opinion that these mines should be explored; only the officer who was in command of our men, Pero Teixeira, now deceased, did not agree with this, because all he desired was to explore the source of this Rio das Amasonas, and on the return journey these mines could be explored, leaving the spot marked out with the name *Rio do Ouro*—River of Gold. Our men, with bartering certain iron implements, obtained from the natives the golden articles that they possessed, and prosecuting the same journey also found gold higher up but not in such abundance.... The greater part of the men who were employed in this exploration continued in it and eventually got as far as the kingdom of Quito in the Spanish Indies, where they were well received, and returning down the same river to Pará, it was found impossible to undertake the exploration of the said mines of gold, not only because the greater part of our natives perished in the kingdom of

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[1] Rawlinson MS, A. 175.

[2] MS Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, *Archivo do Conselho Ultramarino*, Lembretes, 579.

[3] This seems to be the right reading.

Quito, but also because our people rejected the idea amongst themselves.

The other Lisbon MS[1] bears date a year later (1645) and is an account of the voyage upstream by Felipe de Mattos, whose name is found third in the list of the signatories of the *Auto de Posse*. Felipe de Mattos tells the same story about the natives living in the village, to which he says the name of *Aldea do Ouro*—village of gold—was given, because of the Indians wearing trinkets of that metal, and of how they said it was to be obtained four days' journey up a river, which entered the Amazon on the opposite bank. He further states that this village lay half-way—*meada viagem*—between Pará and the spot where the voyage ended.

It may once more be remarked that the *Auto de Posse* is dated August 16th, which points, as has already been said, to the place where Teixeira set up his memorial as being midway in a voyage which began in February and ended in December. In the next place both the last witnesses lay emphatic stress upon the impression made upon them by their halt in the voyage upstream at the village, which obtained the name of *Aldea do Ouro*—the village of gold, and Barreto tells us that the natives reported that this gold was found up an affluent of the Amazon, pointed out by the natives; and that Teixeira, though refusing to delay his journey to Quito, promised to explore this river on his return voyage and that he *left the spot marked with the name Rio do Ouro*. There can be no doubt as to its position, for Acuña in his narrative of the descent expressly states that

> fourteen leagues from the Village of Gold on the north side is the mouth of the river Jupura, by which the Yquiari is entered called the River of Gold.

Moreover his language as to the natural features of the site

> all this territory is very high with beautiful plains and pastures for sheep...and a promise of many and great advantages to those who may settle in it

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[1] MS Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, *Archivo do Conselho Ultramarino*, Lembretes, 579.

may be compared with the statement of Teixeira in the *Auto de Posse*:

> the place where they then were seemed to him suitable for a settlement, both on account of the gold of which he had information, and because there was food, good air, and lands for all kinds of crops, pasture, and cattle-raising.

It is true that Acuña never mentions Teixeira's solemn *Act of Possession*, but in that Act we read that

> although Religious of the Company of Jesus, by order of the Royal Audiencia of Quito, were in our company there was no one on their behalf to make objection to possession being taken.

No doubt the two Spanish Jesuits deemed it prudent to be silent, knowing that the Act was invalid until it was sanctioned by the king.

The position of the memorial that was set up would appear to have been near the mouth of the river Teffe where now the town of Ega stands. Further evidence will be found in the next section.

IV. THE MANÁOS AND THE RIVER OF GOLD

When Samuel Fritz was lying ill in 1689 during the season of high flood in the mission settlement of the Jurimaguas, his Journal thus recounts[1] the visit of a body of strange natives, who came to trade on the Amazon:

While I was wearily struggling with my sickness a troop of Manaves, who are heathen Indians, came in some ten canoes to trade with the Jurimaguas.... Their lands are in the northern direction, on a stream called Jurubetts, to be reached by the river Jupura. They usually come out at the time of the flood, because those two rivers then communicate, owing to the abundance of water, so that they can go from the Jurubetts into the river Jupura by canoe. The trade, which these Manaves have with the Aysuares, Ybanomas and Jurimaguas consists in some small bars of gold, vermilion, yuca graters.... They do not extract the gold themselves, but proceed along the river Jurubetts and enter the Yquiari, where they trade for it, and this is the most celebrated river for gold among these heathens.

Christoval d'Acuña, when in 1639 he was accompanying Teixeira's expedition and passing the village which had been named the Village of Gold, because the Portuguese on their ascent of the river had found the natives here wearing golden ornaments, has left on record[2] what he heard as to the source from which this gold was obtained, in a passage which is curiously parallel to that of Fritz. He writes

that which they said to me respecting the mines whence this gold is taken, is what I relate here. Opposite this village [the Village of Gold], a little higher up on the north side is the mouth of a river called Yurupazi, ascending which and crossing a certain district by land, in three days another river is reached called Yupura, by which the Yquiari is entered called also *the river of gold*[3]. Here at the foot of a hill, the natives get a great quantity;

[1] p. 62.

[2] From the translation of Acuña's narrative by Sir Clements Markham in the volume of the Hakluyt Series entitled *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons*, p. 102.

[3] The italics are mine.

so that by heating it, they make plates, which they hang to their ears and noses. The natives, who communicate with those who extract the gold, are called Managus.

The Manaves of Fritz are the same people as the Managus of Acuña, and, as we shall see, are the Manáos of the Portuguese. The following quotations from later writers remove any difficulties in the interpretation of the native reports, which the two Jesuit Fathers, in writings separated from one another by an interval of exactly fifty years, have preserved for us.

In a MS in the National Library at Lisbon written by Padre José Monteiro de Noronha in 1768 and bearing the title *Roteiro da Viagem*, the following statement occurs:

the Yurubaxi is the same that M. Condamine and other geographers call Yurubex and Yarubesk. At its mouth it is of small width; but further up it forms great lakes by which there is communication with the Jupura.... In other times it was peopled by Manáos.

Still more explicit is a passage from an anonymous MS, now in the Municipal Library of Oporto, written about 1766 and entitled *Synopse de algumas Noticias Geographicas*. This writer says:

When the water is high the passage from the Rio Negro to the Rio Jupura is easiest by the river Urubaxi, as it is all navigable by means of pools and swamps, as far as the lake of Amana on the Jupura. This journey takes eight days in a light canoe. Father Samuel Fritz believed that the river Urubaxi flowed into the river Iquiary, however the information on which he went was inaccurate, for as a matter of fact the Urubaxi only makes a bar in the Rio Negro at a distance of some 64 leagues below the Iquiary[1].... This is the river which Father Christoval d'Acuña, Samuel Fritz and Monsieur Condamine called Rio do Ouro; it gave rise to the story of the Golden lake of Parima and the city of

[1] The author of the Synopse is unaware that the native name for the Rio Negro was Iquiary. The river with which he identifies it is the river called by some native tribes the Uapes, an affluent of the Rio Negro, the name of the main stream being applied later to one of its tributaries. Thus in the days of Samuel Fritz the main stream of the Amazon was known by its native name, the Marañon. Later and to-day that name is only applied to its highest tributary.

Manoa, the exaggerated magnificence of which seems more like the strange fancies of poets than the serious efforts of historians.

The natives, whom Acuña names Managus and Fritz Manaves, were the Manáos of Portuguese writers. These Manáos were the dominant tribe of the Upper Rio Negro. All writers of the period with which we are dealing and during the first decades of the eighteenth century, whether Spanish, Portuguese or Dutch, speak of them as being itinerant traders travelling over a large area both to the north and the south of the Rio Negro, carrying various goods for exchange by barter with other and more sedentary tribes. Among these goods, special mention, as we have seen, is made of gold. In their journeys northward by the Rio Branco, these Manáos came into touch with the agents of enterprising Dutch merchants from the colonies of Surinam and Essequibo, who, as extant evidence shows, accompanied by their Carib allies, penetrated into the interior as far as the head waters of the Rio Branco. The ancient native name of the Rio Branco was Parima. Hence arose the legend of the Golden City of Manoa on the shores of Lake Parima, which reached the ears of Sir Walter Ralegh and led him to undertake the fatal expedition up the Orinoco, which was ultimately the cause of his death.

The third decade of the eighteenth century saw the power of the Manáos under a famous chieftain named Ajuricaba at its height. F. X. Ribeiro de Sampaio, chief magistrate of the Rio Negro, in an account that he wrote of his journey up that river in 1775, has an interesting passage about Ajuricaba, showing that after an interval of half a century the memory of his deeds and influence still survived although the Manáo tribes had long been scattered, and their power destroyed by the arms of the Portuguese. Sampaio writes[1]:

Ajuricaba was of the Manao nation and one of its most powerful Headmen. Nature had endowed him with a brave, intrepid and warlike spirit. He made an alliance with the Dutch of Guiana, with whom he traded by the Rio Branco. The principal article of trade was slaves, to which condition he reduced the Indians of

[1] *Brit. Guiana—Brazil Boundary Arbitration*, App. to British Case, i. 114.

our villages by making formidable raids upon them. He infested the Rio Negro with the greatest freedom, flying the Dutch flag itself upon his canoes in such a way that he made himself universally feared.

Then, after relating the circumstances of his defeat and death at the hands of the Portuguese, Sampaio continues

What is in truth most striking in the story of Ajuricaba is that all his subjects and the greater part of his nation, who showed him the most faithful love and obedience, harbouring an illusion, which in their fancy seemed based on reason, since it seemed impossible to them that he could die on account of their desire to keep him alive, waited for him as our Sebastianists await the coming of King Sebastian. Throughout the whole course of his life, Ajuricaba was certainly a hero among the Indians.

This generous estimate can be supported, so far as the historical facts are concerned, from the despatches of Governor Bernardo Pereira de Berredo and of his successor Joaõ da Maya da Gama[1]. The latter gives the substance of a report he had received from the Jesuit missionary, Joseph de Sousa, as to how he had endeavoured

to come to terms with these savages, i.e. the Manáos, especially the disloyal Ajuricaba, a haughty, insolent man, who styled himself governor of all these nations. All the other headmen showed him respect, and all the attacks upon us were committed by this man's orders or persuasion according to the deposition of many witnesses.

At length a formidable expedition was in 1727 sent up the Rio Negro by Governor da Maya da Gama, which resulted in the overthrow and death of Ajuricaba. The power of the Manáos was destroyed, but their memory still survives in the name of the well-known port at the entrance of the Rio Negro, whose waters they so long dominated. For many years after Ajuricaba's overthrow the river remained depopulated and deserted by its native inhabitants.

[1] *Brit. Guiana—Brazil Boundary Arbitration*, Brit. App. i. 18, 19, 22.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE EVORA MS

Containing the Journal of Father Samuel Fritz
and other material concerning his life
and missionary labours

EL GRAN RIO
MARAÑON, o AMAZONAS
Con la Misſion de la Compañia de IESVS
Geograficamente delineado
Por el P.e Samuel FRITZ Miſsionero contiⁿuo en eſte Rio.
P. I. de N. Societatis Iesu quondam in hoc Marañone
Missionarius Sculpebat Quiti Anno 1707.

A LA CATOLICA Y REAL MAGESTAD
DEL REY N.o S. D. FELIPE V.o
LA PROVINCIA DE QVITO DE LA COMP.a DE IESVS
OFRECE, Y DEDICA
en eterno reconocimiento
ESTE MAPA DEL GRAN RIO MARAÑON
CON SV MISSION APOSTOLICA
COMO A SV SOBERANO PATRON Y MANTENEDOR
POR MANO
DE SV REAL AVDIENCIA
DE QVITO.

BRITISH MUSEUM 14 JAN 88

MAR DEL NORTE

MAR DEL SVR

Este famoso Rio, el mayor en lo descubierto, que llaman ya de Amazonas, ya de Orellana, es el proprio Marañon: nombre, que le dan los mejores Cosmografos desde su origen, y todas sus Provincias Superiores. Nace de la Laguna Lauricocha cerca de la Ciudad de Guanuco en el Reyno del Peru. Corre 1800 leguas, hasta salir al Mar del Norte con 84 de Voca. Junto a la Ciud.d de Borja tiene un Estrecho nombrado el Pongo de 25 v.s de ancho, y 3 leguas de largo de tanta rapidez, que se navega en un quarto de hora. Vna y otra ribera desde la Ciudad de Jaen de Bracamoros (desde donde es navegable) hasta el Mar, estan pobladas de altissima arboleda. Tiene maderas de todos colores mucho Cacao, Zarzaparrilla, y corteza, que llaman de Calvo para guisados, y tintas. Entre sus innumerables Peces el mas singulares la Vaca Marina, o Pexe Buey; assi dicho por la semejanza: sustentase con yerva de las orillas; y la hembra pare, y cria con leche a sus hijuelos. Es abundantissimo de Tortugas, Armadillos, Lagartos, o Cocodrilos; y tiene algunas Culebras tan disformes, que se tragan a un hombre. En sus montañas ay feroces Tigres, Javalies en abundancia Dantas, y otras muchas especies de Animales, con variedad de colores en sus Vegas. Está poblad.o dissimo de innumerables barbaras Naciones (las de mas nombre van notadas en este Mapa) singularmente en los Rios que le entran; algunos de los quales tienen fama de mucho Oro. Los Portugueses posse en azia la Voca algunas Poblaciones, y en la de Rio Negro una Fortaleza.

Misſion de la Compañia de IESVS.

Tiene la Compañia de Jesus en este gran Rio una muy dilatada, trabajosa, y Apostolica Misſion, en que entro año 1638: cuya Cabeza es la Ciu.d de S.tta Fran.co de Borja Provincia de los Maynas distante de Quito 300 leguas, y se estiende por los Rios de Pastaza, Guallaga, y Ucayale hasta el fin de la Prov.a de Omaguas. Vase a ella por tres caminos aspersissimos, y en gran parte de a pie: por Ambato, Patate, y Archidona; en cuyos Puertos se embarcan los Misioneros en Cañas, o Balsas, y peligrosas distancias hasta sus Reducciones. Han muerto en ellas los Barbaros a los siguientes Padres (en cuyas muertes huvo sucessos prodigiosos): al V.do P.re Francisco de Figueroa en la voca del Rio Apena junto a Guallaga año 1666: al V.do P.re Pedro Suarez en Abijiras año 1667: al V.do P.re Agustin Hurtado en Roamaynas año 1677: al V.do P.re Henrigi Richter en Piros año 1695: en este año de 1707 hallegado repetida la noticia de que en Sayes mataron los Barbaros al V.do P.re Nicolas Durango. Los sitios de sus muertes van señalados con esta L. Sabe muriò ahogado portà gloriosa causa el V.do P.re Raymundo de S.ta Cruz navegando del Rio de Bobonaza año 1662. Tiene la Comp.a en esta Missiõ (amas del Curato de Borja, y sus Anejos) en 4 Partidos 39 Pueblos fundados cõ su sudor, y por la mayor parte a sus expẽsas: en el Partido de Xeberos la Cõcep.n de Xeberos, y 5 Anejos de Paranapuras, Chayavitas, Cahuapanas, Muniches, y Otanapis. En el Partido de la Laguna, S.tiago de Pipos, y Cocamas, y 3 Anejos a Chamicuros, Tibilos, y Aguanos. En el Partido de Sayes, S. Xavier de Sayes, y 5 Anejos de Roamaynas, Pavas, Pinches, Andoas, y Semigayes. En el Partido de Omaguas, S. Joachin de Omaguas, y 22 Anejos de Yarapas, Omaguas, y Jurimaguas. En los quales Partidos, y Pueblos ay hasta Veinte y seis Mil almas reducidas, y bautizadas por los Padres Misioneros: que al presente son diez, y seis Sacerdotes (demas de otros dos, que assisten en la Missiõn de Colorados). Y amas de los dichos Pueblos estan amistadas varias Naciones numerosas, de que se espera la Conversion: y grandes aumentos de esta Missiõn a la Real Magnificencia, y Proteccion de su Magestad.

Ad maiorem Dei gloriam.

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REPRODUCTION OF FATHER SAMUEL FRITZ'S

MAP OF THE GREAT RIVER MARAÑON.

PUBLISHED AT QUITO IN 1707, BY FATHER JUAN DE NARVAES.

98 44

MISSION TO THE OMAGUAS, JURIMAGUAS, AYSUARES, YBANOMAS AND OTHER NATIONS FROM THE NAPO TO THE RIO NEGRO[1]

§ I

Pacification and Customs of the Omaguas

The most glorious Mission, which has left a memorial on the banks of the Marañon of the zeal of the members of the Company [of Jesus], and almost entirely destroyed the grasping cupidity of the Portuguese of Gran Pará, is that of the Omaguas, Jurimaguas, Aysuares, Ybanomas and other tribes, who inhabited the Isles of the above-named river from the junction of the Napo to the mouth of the Rio Negro, a distance of more than five hundred leagues. Where these tribes had been in former times situated and where they are at present will in due course be sufficiently indicated in the General Notices.

The chief and most numerous of these tribes, of which in former times the others were much afraid, is that of the Omaguas, originating probably from the Tupinambas of Brazil, as their language leads one to suppose, differing little from that which the Portuguese call *Lengua General*, which is that of the Tupinambas and extends, as they say, to many Brazilian tribes. The Portuguese commonly call the Omaguas by the name of Cambebas or *cariga penas* (which means flat heads), because the distinguishing peculiarity of this tribe is the wearing their forehead flattened and level, like the palm of your hand, and of this they are exceedingly proud; the women especially to such an extent that they jeer at and insult the women of other tribes by saying, that they have their head round like the *pilche* or skull of a savage from the forest.

Hence it is that they proceed little by little to flatten the

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[1] The tribal names are variously spelt in the MS. In the translation a uniform spelling has been adopted.

tiny heads of their young children by applying to the forehead a small board or wattle of reeds tied with a little cotton so as not to hurt them, and fastening them by the shoulders to a little canoe, which serves them for a cradle. Questioning them as to the origin of this custom they gave me the reply, that their forefathers on a certain occasion had seen the Devil with his head flattened in this manner; and from him they had learnt this fashion doubtless unknown until now by European women. These barbarians have another remarkable custom. The first step in carrying out this custom is to suspend girls, on attaining the age of puberty, in a net within an awning affixed to the top of the house, and they leave them suspended there for the space of a month and at times longer, giving them every 24 hours a little dry Cassava and drink very sparingly for their sustenance, and some spinning sufficient for their amusement during all this time. At the end of the month they are taken down and carried to the River, and washed from head to foot. After this they paint them as far as the middle of the body and send them back to their homes nude and adorned with feathers to a great accompaniment of dances and music; then all the women that are present offer them a small quantity of drink, compelling them to drink until the oldest Indian present coming forward gives them some blows on the shoulders with a small stick, and bestows on them a certain name, which they keep throughout life. After this function any man, whoever he may be, is permitted to ask them in marriage from their fathers; before it would have been a crime worthy of censure, for they say that the women who have not been treated in this manner are no good either to themselves or to their husbands. Furthermore the Omaguas, generally speaking, are men of medium stature, robust, and darker than the Indians of the forest, very talkative and proud. Every one has ordinarily in his house one or two slaves or servants of some tribe of the main-land, that he acquired in the course of war, or bartered in exchange for iron implements or clothing, or some other like way. The Omagua haughtily stretched in a hammock in lordly fashion despatches his servant or serving-maid, his slave or slave girl,

to provide his food, bring his drink and other similar things. In other respects they regard their servants with much affection, as if they were their own children, provide them with clothing, eat from the same dish, and sleep with them beneath the same awning, without causing them the slightest annoyance. In their heathen days they were accustomed to make raids into the interior of the forests in quest of these slaves, to assault the houses with armed hand, to kill cruelly the old men and women, and to carry off as captives the young people for their service. Such is the unjust custom that they have always practised, and that many Portuguese practise even today among the Indians that are subject to their sovereignty, offering them iron implements or other commodities, and compelling them with threats to carry on war with other savage tribes so as to obtain slaves to give them. Notwithstanding this the Omaguas boast that they possessed, even before they became Christians, a kind of polity and government; many of them living a sociable life, showing a satisfactory subjection and obedience to their principal caciques[1], and treating every one, men and women alike, with a certain consideration, which Father Acuña attributes to the association that some of them had had with the Spaniards of the government of Quixos in the river Napo. It may be however that they learnt this sort of polity from the Tupinambas and Cablucos of Brazil, from whose neighbourhood it seems that they had been little by little ascending to the upper Marañon; therefore, as was said on the other side, the communication and relations, that even the Omaguas of Napo had had with the Spaniards was very brief; none at all probably before the Descent of Father Acuña. The men of the Great Omagua tribe that live in the Islands of the Marañon wear today breeches and shirts of cotton, woven and coloured with considerable artistry; the women content themselves with two pieces of the same kind, one of which serves them for a small apron, the other to form an indifferent covering for the breasts, painting the rest of the body even the hair with the juice, darker than mulberry, of a forest fruit that

[1] *curaeas*.

they call Jaguá. With this the men paint principally the legs, hands and beard, the beards having a curious resemblance to gloves. Their regular arms are the arrow and *yestolica*, whose form is described elsewhere. With these arrows they shoot game in the forest and fish in the river, and also fight with other Indians. They likewise make use at times of the lance, dart and catapult[1], that are arms employed by the Indians of the main-land, or as they are called Tapuyas. The shields that they carry for defence, when they go out to fight, are made of reeds split and closely woven, being different from those of the Tapuyas that are made of tapir skin, or woven hemp-fibre.

The plantations[2] or *chagras* of yuca and plantain, which furnish their sustenance, and the houses or ranches are generally situated on islands, beaches or banks of the River; all low lying lands liable to be flooded; and although continual experience teaches them, that at times, when the River is in high-flood, they are left without a *chagra* and not seldom without anything to live upon, nevertheless they cannot make up their minds to place their dwellings and make their plantations on elevated ground away from the River, saying their forefathers had always had their habitations on the Great River, the forest being the special dwelling-place of the Ancas and Tapuyas. In order that there should be no lack of food during the season of the high-flood, which begins in March and lasts till June, they make a practice of harvesting the fruit of their new plantations in January and February. The maize that they have garnered they keep in their houses; the yuca and the mandive they bury in pits well-provided with wide hatches, and so they keep them underground below the water, not only for months but for one or two years or more. From thence after the level of the River begins to fall they draw out all that is needed for their consumption, leaving the rest buried, and although this yuca and mandive may rot, when pressed it becomes better and of greater sustenance than when fresh, and from it they make their drinks, flour, and cassava-bread. While the flood lasts, the people live on

[1] *boquetera*, a kind of catapult or cross-bow for discharging *boquetes*, hard clay bullets.

[2] *semenderas*, (properly) seed-plots.

elevated-floors made of the bark of trees, going out from and entering into their houses in canoes, nor is there anything strange in this, since their life is perpetually spent upon the rivers and lagoons to fish, and to row, in which arts they are more skilled than any other nation.

The Omaguas have other customs worthy of public record, that will be pointed out in the course of this relation; as also those of the Jurimaguas and of other neighbouring tribes.

As regards religion it seems that they had in their heathenism some knowledge of the Supreme Author of Nature, whom they call by the name, Zumi-Topana, to whom, as far as I know, they never gave any form of worship, such as the other tribes of the Marañon give to the Devil. No doubt some of them had familiar intercourse with him (the Devil), and learnt from him various modes of injury and wicked spells for their objects of vengeance; today the majority hold in high honour certain great witch-doctors and are wont to threaten the Indians of other tribes, saying that they shall be obliged to bewitch them unless they concede what they ask; but these have generally appeared to be boastful words without intention of acting upon them.

The first men of the Company [of Jesus] to enter the Great Omagua were the Fathers Christoval de Acuña and Andres de Artieda in the year 1639, as is stated in their journal so much appreciated by the learned. When both Fathers had returned from the Court of Spain to Quito, Father Acuña by order of his superiors went to Lima. Father Artieda returned to the Marañon and taking with him Father Lucas de la Cueva and the lieutenant and soldiers from Borja went a second time to the Omaguas, where possession was legally taken of that Province and of the whole River in the name of the Catholic King, Philip IV.

As the Blessed Martyr Francisco de Tigueroa relates, it was not possible at that time to start the Mission for lack of workers, and because the few that had entered that River for mission purposes judged it more timely to begin their conquest with the Maynas, the Xeberos, the Cocamas and other tribes dwelling farther up the Rio Napo. Finally in the year

1681 it pleaseth God with special providence to open the door, which should likewise give a start to the conversion of the Omaguas and many other neighbouring tribes. Father Manuel Rodrigues in his history, *lib.* 5 *and c.* 15, relates how this happened, which was as follows. The plague of small-pox having broken out in the villages of the river Guallaga[1], the Cocamas or Ucayales, that inhabited the *Pueblo de la Laguna*, being afraid lest the contagion should reach them also, set out down the Marañon in more than seventy canoes with their wives and children and stopped on the shores, the ranches I mean, of the Omaguas, where they were received with much rejoicing. These told them of the continual maltreatment that they were suffering at the hands of the Portuguese of Gran Pará, who now and again were ascending [the river] to their lands in search of prisoners, and who carried away their own children as captives. The Cocamas moved with compassion at what they had been told, and being grateful for the hospitality that had been extended to them, invited them [the Omaguas] to ascend with them to their *Pueblo de la Laguna*, and to come and see their Missionary, that was at that period the illustrious Father, Juan Lorenzo Herrero, from whom, they told them, they might expect help and kindness of every kind, so that they would not fail to return to their homes satisfied. Stirred by such favourable exhortations and promises the chief Headmen resolved to go up with the Cocamas as far as the Laguna to the Father, who received them with singular demonstrations of affection, entertained them to the best of his power, and explained to them how greatly it concerned them both in body and soul to become Christians, and to submit themselves to the direction and instruction of the Missionaries of the Company. What the Father told them seemed to them very good; and they assured him, it would be the same in their country, where all would receive him with much pleasure. The Father replied that he could not desert his children the Cocamas, and other tribes that were in his charge, but that he would send to them as

[1] Or Hualaga.

soon as possible another Missionary, who would supply his place. While this was being accomplished, they should little by little bring their settlements nearer to this *Pueblo de la Laguna*, as this would render them more secure from the attacks of their enemies the Portuguese. Very pleased with these promises the Omaguas returned to their homes proclaiming everywhere the liberality and the kindness of Father Herrero; so that the whole tribe conceived a great desire to have a Father, who would instruct and help them.

They sent on various occasions delegations to Father Herrero praying him to send to them a Missionary in conformity with his promise, giving him at the same time, as a friend, an account of the wars, I mean those that they were carrying on with their enemies; but as just then there were in the Marañon no more than four missionaries, each one of whom was charged with the care of many settlements of people already converted, he was unable to fulfil his promise, until the year 1686. In that year there had arrived from Germany to Quito, and from thence proceeded to the Marañon, Father Samuel Fritz, a native of the kingdom of Bohemia, a man of mark, chosen by God to be the Apostle of these peoples.

The Father Francisco Viva, who a little before had succeeded Father Herrero in the office of Superior of the Missions, determined to console the Omaguas by giving them the said Father, as Missionary. These barbarians on being informed that new Missionaries had arrived from Quito to the Laguna, and that one of them was preparing to descend to their lands, with great eagerness, convoyed in more than thirty canoes, set out upstream to meet him, and brought him with much rejoicing to their first village-settlement. On arrival at the port, not content that he should go up from the canoe on his feet, they insisted on carrying him in their arms, and, amidst dances and music of flutes, fifes and other instruments, brought him to the abode that they had provided for him. They did the same in many other village-settlements in more than thirty islands, so that the Father took steps as quickly as possible to make himself known, and to communicate to them the first elements of the Christian Religion. In every

part the inhabitants showed themselves ready to receive the Faith. They received it, as the preacher set it forth; notwithstanding that he had no apparatus with him save a wooden cross, nor was he accompanied by any ministering-assistants, save one or two boys of this same Omagua nation, as his servers.

The Father having explained to them the importance of baptism for attaining salvation, they all expressed a great desire to receive it; but as they were not yet sufficiently instructed in the other mysteries of Our Faith, and were reluctant to give up entirely certain heathen abuses, the Father judged it necessary to defer the rite to the adults, contenting himself with baptizing the children.

The Father was thus journeying all the year round from island to island, with exceeding discomfort and danger, navigating in that little sea, for such is the Marañon below the junction of the Napo, guided frequently by some lads, without stopping longer than was necessary in each settlement; baptizing the little ones; instructing, exhorting and preaching to the adults; with this result that the whole nation in less than three years was found capable of baptism; many churches or chapels were built; and in every part divine worship and teaching, for the use of the Christian settlements, was established. The principal village-settlement in which the Father at times resided for some considerable period, because it was the most populous and near to the Missions up-stream, was called San Joaquim, this being the Saint that Father Samuel chose as patron of his apostolical conquest, partly because he had been very devoted to him from his early youth, and partly because the Señora Duchess of Arcos and Aveyro, when the Father, in the year 1684, was on the point of embarking at Cadiz for the Indies with other Missionaries his companions, sent to them from Madrid a beautiful painting of the glorious Patriarch saying, that it was for the first Mission that was newly founded among the heathen of the Marañon.

There was not then any doubt that the precious object of devotion belonged to the Mission of the Omaguas, when the painting of the Saint itself arrived at the Marañon, since of their own accord the Omaguas were ascending to the *Pueblo*

de la Laguna to beg on their knees and with more insistence than any, for a Missionary; offering themselves as ready to accept the law of the Gospel. Father Samuel, as those that lived many years in his company assure me, was wont to say that in the course of the greater toils and trials that he had encountered in that Mission, his principal resource had ever been the glorious Patriarch, and that it would have surpassed his powers of speech, if he had sought to recount one by one the favours and the prodigies, that God had granted him through the mediation of his Patron.

Through the continual intercourse that the Father had with the Omaguas in his Apostolical journeyings, he came to receive news of another Nation lower down called Jurimaguas, as might be gathered also from the Journal of Father Acuña. They told him much of their skill and dexterity; and how they painted their womenfolk with much art; and spoke of their customs as being less barbarous than those of the rest, and of a kind of police by which they were governed; living all of them in subjection to the will of a Principal Chief, of whom the Father learnt that they were very well disposed to submit themselves to the yoke of the Gospel. With this news he conceived a great desire to convert them and resolved to go down-stream, and visit them in their settlements.

The Jurimaguas had already heard of the Father, and had so high an opinion of his way of life and wondrous work that they were in doubt whether he were a mortal man or a spirit from the other world; and as an evil spirit was exercising such despotic dominion over them, that from time to time he suddenly fell upon them and beat them cruelly; and when he went away, embarking himself in a canoe he was lost to the sight of all by submerging himself in the depths of the Marañon. Some were afraid lest the Father should prove to be a similar spirit; but when he arrived at their lands and they saw his different method of treating them with kindness and affection; they all returned from the hiding-places, from whence they had been watching for some time in much fear and caution, and all unanimously received him with great demonstrations of gladness and rejoicing.

The Father was no sooner informed of the evil spirit that was oppressing them, than he blessed a Cross and erected it in a public place assuring them all that from that time forward the evil one would not have so much power among them, and that they were not to be afraid to return to their homes; as in fact happened, all of them having regard for the virtue of that wonderful piece of wood elevated above them. The Father, as he had done with the Omaguas, proceeded to give them the news of the Redeemer, the law of the Gospel, and of Baptism as being supremely necessary to attain Salvation. All listened to him with great attention, and followed all the exhortations of the Father with much interest; and apparently the Law, which he was preaching to them, was not unpleasing to them, only they were showing that they did not attach much value to Baptism, in accordance with what happens regularly with many tribes recently pacified; it appearing to some a ridiculous action to see the Father bathing their head with water; others being suspicious lest it should be some kind of witchcraft or evil spiritism. The Father then took pains to make them understand, in the best manner that he could, that this is a washing instituted by Christ for the purification of souls from original sin and other sins contracted in the time of their heathenism, making them fair and clean by means of his grace; but being so materialistic in their conceptions they did not attain to the understanding of a doctrine so important, until God, moved no doubt by the prayers of the Father and having compassion upon the rudeness of that poor people, was pleased to aid their faith by a stupendous prodigy. An old woman, being grievously ill and incited by what she had heard the Father say, begged insistently to be baptized, notwithstanding that her relatives and acquaintances made fun of it. She received it with real faith, and a little afterwards died. The son, an unbeliever, who loved her tenderly, refused to leave her tomb, lamenting her death ceaselessly; when suddenly one night as he was watching and weeping, the mother placed herself before him, very cheerful, clad in a bright festal robe, and spoke these words to him, "You have no reason, Son, to weep for my death, for scarcely

did I expire, before my soul, more resplendent than the sun, was borne to a land supremely pleasant, where I behold wonderful things that I am unable clearly to explain to you, and all this I owe to the Baptism, that I received from the hand of the Father without which I should irremediably have gone to the infernal regions."

No sooner had the youth published abroad what he had seen and heard than there was not a single heathen Indian, that did not beg with many entreaties to be baptized to the great joy of the Father, but as many were not as yet sufficiently instructed in the essential points of the Faith, and did not cease in secret to have relations with the demon, and other evil practices that were quite contrary to the Divine Law, he was not too forward and was unable to baptize them. He therefore saw himself pressed by all to come down repeatedly to their lands to instruct them, as he had been doing with the Omaguas, so that the work of his Apostolic journeys went on multiplying. Already his sole efforts did not suffice for so extended a field, since scarcely in a year was he able to complete a hurried course through the many islands that were occupied by the two nations, the Omaguas and the Jurimaguas; and further since likewise the Aysuares, Ybanomas, and other nations nearer to the Rio Negro acknowledged themselves as friendly to him, it already appeared impossible that he should be able to listen to all. Father Samuel therefore called for companions to help him, so plenteous was the harvest to be reaped. He suffered disappointment because the workers, who were then assisting in other missions of the Marañon, had each of them a more than sufficient field in which to employ his zeal, nor was there hope that new missionaries within a short time could come from Europe and Quito. To no purpose were his calls, so that the Father saw himself obliged to take the sole and weighty charge of all those nations; going without pause day and night like another Xavier, visiting their catachumens, baptizing some, teaching others and trying to supply with help the necessities of all in the best manner that he could.

In the midst then of these continuous journeyings and

labours for the welfare of so many souls, while the Father was in the principal village of the Jurimaguas by the special ordering of God a dangerous illness attacked him with inflammation of the whole body, that compelled him for fear of perishing in this abandonment to descend [the river] to Gran Pará in search of some remedy; and this was that celebrated descent full of wonderful happenings, which may be reckoned as among the chief discoveries of the River Marañon, since the Father, particularly in his return journey, noted attentively and with greater exactness than any other, everything that pertains to a general notice and geographical description of the said River, and the more principal nations that inhabit its banks.

For the sake of the learned I will copy here to the letter the Journal of the said descent to Pará and return from Pará to the *Pueblo de la Laguna*, the head-place of the missionaries of the Maynas, just as the Father himself left it written; who speaking in his annotations to the Map that he drew on this occasion (and that Father Juan de Narvaes afterwards in a reduced form published in the year 1707) said thus—"For better knowledge and general information concerning this great river Marañon or Amazon, I have made this geographical map with no little toil and exertion, having navigated it in the greater part of its course as far as it is navigable. Although up to now so many maps have appeared, without prejudice to any one, I say that no one of them has been drawn with the proper survey of levels, since they neither saw nor took the levels of this great River, or they extracted them from authors, whose writings left them confused. With this new exploration of the whole of this river Amazon, that I have made and brought to light, I do not appraise my work for the carrying out of the duties of my undertaking, when one sees other greater undertakings of human diligence in this same enterprize either disappointed or hindered by fate, so that no one up till now has been able to accomplish his designs, unless I proclaim that, as a work wholly under the guidance of the Divine Providence, it was his pleasure to prostrate me with mortal attacks of illness the better to make use of me, as one of his chief instruments."

§ II

Journal of the Descent of FATHER SAMUEL FRITZ, *Missionary of the Crown of Castile in the River Marañon, from S. Joaquim of the Omaguas to the City of Gran Pará, in the year* 1689, *and return of the said Father from the same city to the Pueblo de la Laguna, the head centre of the Mission of the Maynas, in the year* 1691.

To escape from the great flush of water that is usual in this river every year, at the end of January of the year 1689 I made my way down-stream from the Mission-Settlement [*Reducion*] of San Joaquim of the Omaguas, where my Mission district begins, to the Village of the Jurimaguas. On my way I visited some few villages of the Omaguas, instructing them, as I passed by, but the majority I passed at a distance, because of the waters which were already rising. In February I arrived at the Jurimaguas, where we built a Church or Chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Snows[1]. I thought that as in other years this Settlement had not been wholly submerged, it would be secure from the flood, but it was so great this year '89 that even in the highest point of the village, where stood the Ranch where I was staying, the River had risen up to within a rod's distance; and when the River began to inundate the houses, the waters came with so great force, until the flood was at its height, that they appeared to be sufficient to set in motion the wheels of a mill. I set out from here on one occasion, when I knew that there were some sick people lower down in a village of the Aysuares, and embarked on a small canoe, but when I arrived at the Aysuares, already the sick folk had left for the Jurimaguas, so I returned at once lest they should die without baptism. On my return however I found them, an Indian and his wife both of advanced age, taught, baptized and married them. When they

[1] *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes.*

had received baptism they did nothing more than return to their home, and both died immediately afterwards.

The Jurimagua and Aysuares people, although they are different tribes and speak different languages, have almost like customs. They go about entirely nude. Nevertheless little by little they are beginning to wear clothes; and the Indian women to learn to weave them. Their food had been what the River gives them, that is Cassava and flour that they make from mandioca. The trade that they carry on with other tribes is with *tetes* or *pilches*[1], that their women paint beautifully. In former days the Jurimaguas had been very warlike and masters of almost the whole River of the Amazons; and their women (as I have heard) fought with arrows, as valiantly as the Indians; such an encounter, it seems to me, was that which Orellana had, which led to his giving to this great river, the name of the Amazons; but now they are much intimidated and wasted by the wars and enslavements that they have suffered and suffer from their neighbours of Pará. Their villages and homesteads were a league and more in extent; but since they saw themselves persecuted many of them have withdrawn to other lands and rivers, so as to be somewhat more secure.

Meanwhile, as I was staying in this Jurimagua village, already almost wholy inundated, in a shelter on a roof made of the bark of trees, I fell sick of most violent attacks of fever and of dropsy that began in the feet with other complaints principally caused by worms. I was obliged to remain day and night for the space of well-nigh three months shut up in this shelter without being able to stir. In the daytime I felt somewhat easier, but the nights in unutterable burnings, as the river though it was passing but a handbreadth from the bed was out of reach of my mouth, and in sleeplessness, caused not only by my infirmities, but also from the gruntings of the crocodiles or lizards that all night long were roving round the village, beasts of horrible deformity. One night one of them entered my canoe, whose prow stood

[1] Cups or vessels made from gourds (*calabazas*) to carry the Indian drink (*chicha*).

within the house, so that if it had advanced, it would have made an end of my boy and of myself, as there was no possibility of escape.

Besides the lizards so many rats made their way into my dwelling-place, and so hungry, that they gnawed even my spoon and my plate and the haft of my knife and ate up the little food I had for my sustenance. Almost all the people of the village began to take themselves off in search of dry ground and forest fruits to escape starvation, since their store of food, that is the Mandioca, was buried beneath the water, and I for my sustenance was reduced to obtaining at times by fishing a few little fish, and to begging for some plantains, which it was necessary to send for lower down, and to fetch from the Aysuares.

Remarkable is the fact, that I at this time found out in this village of the Jurimaguas, which is that in a revelry that they were making, I, from the ranch where I was lying, heard a flute played, that caused me so great terror, that I could not endure its sound. When they left off playing that flute I asked what it meant, and they answered me, that they were playing in this manner, to Guaricaya, that was the Devil, who from the time of their ancestors came in visible form, and took up his abode in their villages; and they always made him a house apart from the village within the forest, and there they brought him drink and the sick that he might cure them. Finally enquiring with what kind of face and form he came, the chief, named Mativa, answered, "Father I could not describe it, only that it is horrible, and when he comes all the women with their little ones flee, only the grown-up men remain, and then the Devil takes a whip that for this purpose we keep provided with a leather lash made of the hide of a Sea-Cow, and he flogs us on the breast until much blood is drawn."

In the absence of the Devil the flogger is an old man, hence great scars are found upon our breasts. We do this, they say, to make us valiant. The forms that he took were those of a tiger-boar or of other beasts, at one time it was gigantic, at others dwarfish. I asked further whether he had said any-

thing about me, either that they should eject or kill me, and he replied, that the sounds that he gave forth were not articulate, and "since you came," said the Chief, "the first time that you planted the Cross, he no longer wishes to come to the village, nor any more to cure the sick that some bring to his house; because we now bring them to you that you may preach to them the Gospel and that they may not die." This is what they told me on this occasion of the Devil, of which I had before had some information in agreement also with what I had heard from the Aysuares, who down-stream are called Solimoens, and other sources of information of similar character. While in my hut I was wrestling with my attacks of sickness there came to trade with the Jurimaguas in some ten canoes a troop of Manaves, a tribe of unconverted Indians. On their arrival I went out to the prow of my canoe outside my dwelling-place to receive them, but they without bestowing a glance at me, with their heads turned away, passed my dwelling at full speed. On the next day having sent an invitation to them, they came and were very friendly with me, calling me in their language, Abba, Abba, that means Father, the same as in Hebrew. These Manaves[1] Indians are very brave and feared by other neighbouring tribes, and offered resistance for years to a Portuguese troop. Their arms are bows and poisoned arrows; they grow no hair in order, say they, that they may have nothing to be laid hold of in battle; they go nude; their foreheads as far as the ears they smear with a black resin of the nature of balsam. Their lands lie in the northerly direction upon a stream called Jurubetts, to which one arrives by the river Jupura. They come forth generally at the time of the flood, for at that season through the large quantity of water these two rivers communicate, so that they can in a canoe emerge from the Jurubetts into the river Jupura.

The trade that these Manaves have with the Aysuares, Ybanomas and Jurimaguas consists of small plates of gold, vermilion, yuca graters, hammocks of *cachivance* with various

[1] See special note upon the Manaves.

kinds of clubs and shields, that they work very curiously. They do not themselves extract the gold, but they go to the river Jurubetts navigating the Yquiari, where they obtain it by barter, and this is the river much famed for its gold amongst these tribes.

There also arrived at this same time, when the village was inundated, eight Indians, Ybanomas, from below the mouth of the river Jupura to see me, and they invited me to descend to their settlement. These Ybanomas likewise brought me news of some Portuguese, who had come up from Pará as far as the Cuchivaras to obtain sarsaparilla, eight days lower down than the Jurimaguas. Wherefore I resolved to descend in search of these Portuguese in hopes of getting some remedy in my sufferings, since it was an impossibility for me to go upstream, and manifestly dangerous, seeing that I was so weakened, and beset with infirmities; as I should have to spend more than two months on my journey before meeting the first Father of the Castilian Missionaries.

After the River began to fall, I made a move on my journey downstream, in charge of the chief Mativa and ten Indians. I set out from the settlement of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* on the third of July, 1689, passed wide of the hamlets of the Aysuares, and on the following day at dawn I passed the mouth of the river Jurua; in the evening other settlements of the Aysuares, Guayoeni, and Quirimatate.

On the 5th I pursued my voyage and passed other Aysuares. On the 6th at dawn I passed the mouth of the river Jupura, and visited the settlement of the Ybanomas, called Juaboni, whose chief is Arimavana, with whom I stayed four days, teaching and collecting stores for my further journey. On July 10th I departed accompanied by people from that settlement. On the 12th I passed another settlement, called Guaiupe, and I reached yet another of the Ybanomas. On July 13th in the evening, I departed from there and on the 14th in the morning at the River Cuchivara I passed a settlement that I did not enter because it was flooded. The 15th I arrived at some deserted houses, which the Portuguese had built on some high banks, they had already gone away some

days before my descent. I met them afterwards lower down; one was called Manuel Andre and the other Manuel Pestaña. Directly I arrived at that place many Indians and Indian women, Cuchivaras, with their children came from their settlements, and were occupying those houses, while I was there, that was for eight days. They assisted me with great readiness and affection, more than if they had been Christians, bringing me a quantity of fish, turtle and plantains, showing a desire that I should remain with them. As I had not found however the Portuguese I was seeking, when I set out on this road, I saw that I must needs continue my voyage, more especially as the attacks [of fever] kept every day growing more severe.

On the 24th I departed being convoyed down-stream by Cuchivaras Indians. The 26th on the approach of night I arrived at the mouth of the Rio Negro. The 28th we met with a chief of the Portuguese native tribe, the Tupinambaranas, called Cumuaru, who had been accompanying the slave-raiding troop[1]. My Cuchivara Indians judging them to be Taromas, their enemies of the Rio Negro, immediately got their arrows ready. I planted my cross in the prow, until on the arrival of the canoes, they were recognized as friends, and the Chief, Cumuaru, gave me an Indian guide to the village of Ibuivua.

On July 30th I arrived at the settlement of Urubú where Father Theodosio Vegas, a Mercenarian, was serving as Missionary. He was absent on my arrival. After he came back to the settlement he treated me with great kindliness. On August 1st the Portuguese troop of slave-raiders returned from the Rio Negro to this settlement of Urubú, at the head of which was the Captain-Major Andres Piñero and, as Royal Missionary, Father Juan Maria Garzoni of our Company. It should be observed that in this voyage of mine a great stir arose about me, not only among the surrounding natives,

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[1] *tropa de resgates*, lit. troop of ransoms.—The Portuguese were forbidden to enslave free Indians, but they encouraged the Indians to hand over to them prisoners taken in inter-tribal wars in exchange for bartered goods.

but it made its way as far as Pará and San Luis de Marañon. Some said that I was a saint and a son of God, others a Devil; some, because I carried a cross, said that a Patriarch or Prophet had come; others an envoy from Persia, even the negroes of Pará said that their liberator had come from the way of Angola to free them; others from fear retreated, saying that I carried fire with me and came along burning as many settlements and people as I met. They had published many other and greater fictions about me, so that Father Theodosio Vegas, to whom I immediately sent a notice of my arrival at Urubú, wrote me a note, as to a dubious person, concluding it by saying that they had told him so many things concerning me that he was in doubt whether some thing or portent from the other world had arrived at his settlement; and the head of the troop, Piñero, when he arrived from the Rio Negro at Urubú, said the same concerning me afterwards in Pará, that he did not dare, on the night that he came, to enter into conversation with me, because of the so great absurdities that they had told him, but through a small opening[1] he stood watching whether I were a man, or something from the other life.

In this settlement of Urubú they detained me for fifteen days taking care of me with much kindness. The head of the troop ordered me to be bled against the fevers; to be fumigated against dropsy; and against the rest of the complaints they applied other remedies; but not only was I not benefited, but made worse than ever before. Up till then I had been able to stand on my feet, henceforth I was obliged to allow myself to be carried in a hammock without being able to walk a step, because the dropsy made progress spreading over the whole body, causing me great anguish and fatigue.

On the fifteenth of August the said head of the troop seeing that my symptoms were every day becoming increasingly bad, and that a more prolonged method of cure was required, sent me on in one of his own canoes to Pará, and appointed a soldier, by name Joseph de Silva, to take care of me on the

[1] *abujero* in text for *agujero*?

way. Father Garzoni with the same intention gave me his companion, who was a lay-associate in our Company, charging him to bring me with the utmost speed to the city.

On the 30th August we lay-by below the fortress of Curupa. On the 3rd September I arrived at Guaricuru, a settlement of the Engaibas, and a Mission of the Father Antonio de Silva of the Company, with whom I met the troop of war that was on its way to chastise some natives, for what insolence I know not, consisting of eighty Portuguese soldiers and two hundred Indians. The commander was the Captain-Major of Pará, Antonio de Albuquerque, who is now Governor. They received me with much honour and friendliness. On the 10th September I arrived at Javarari, a sugar-plantation of the College of Pará. On the 11th I arrived by night at the City of Gran Pará, more dead than alive. The Fathers of the College belonging to the Company received me with much kindliness, and sought all possible means for the recovery of my health, especially the Father Rector Juan Carlos Orlandini, who did not refuse to perform in person on my behalf, even the lowest duties of an infirmary attendant. At last at the end of two months, in which different medical remedies were applied to me, God deigned to restore my health and to grant me restoration of strength, wherewith to bear with patience other hardships that were awaiting me, and that were more painful than any illness.

As I thus arrived at that city the Governor, who was opportunely Arturo Sa de Meneses, and the other Portuguese did not fail to see, that the sole motive of my voyage down had been no other than the pressing necessity of finding some alleviation of my attacks of sickness. Notwithstanding, as conscience does not cease to be a restless monitor, knowing how much they had advanced with their conquests in the territory of the Catholic King contrary to the agreement made with Pontifical Authority between the two Crowns, they began to suspect that I was an abandoned spy, sent by the Governor of Marañon in the service of Castile to investigate these advances; and having consulted together on this subject they sent an officer [of the Court] named Miguel Rosa to the

Father Rector Orlandini informing him, that they should keep me, as a prisoner, in that College, and while curing me of my ailments should not allow me to return to my Mission, until they should receive a reply from their King to whom they had despatched an account of my descent, because they considered it very probable, that the lands of my Mission belonged to the Crown of Portugal, whose occupation, they said, extends to the province of the Great Omagua. I, from my first arrival, had made a claim in regard to this showing them with proof, that the provinces in which up to that time I had been a Missionary, beyond all controversy were included within the limits of the Crown of Castile, a fact that no experts were denying. But the said Governor gave no other answer to the Father Superior, than to tell him, we must not believe that which the Castilian Father says. I, seeing that I was kept in ward without power to return to my Mission, sought to embark for Lisbon, appealing to both their Castilian and Portuguese Majesties; that I might answer for myself, so that the Gospel of Christ might be left in immunity and liberty. All my endeavours however were disappointed; and I was detained there in that city eighteen months to the bitter affliction of my heart for the abandonment, in which meanwhile my neophytes remained, and many other unbelievers, that had been left with good inclinations towards conversion.

The ground on which the Portuguese of Pará base their claim is found in a Cedula of the Royal Audiencia of Quito, brought by the expedition of Teixeira when returning to Pará, with the Father Acuña in the year 1639, in which leave was given them to take possession of a village, where in their voyage up the Marañon they had come across some ear-rings of gold in the hands of the heathen, and for this reason had named it the Village of Gold[1]. The position was on the southern bank on elevated ground somewhat higher than the river Cuchivara, where they rightly say that they took possession and left there, as a memorial, a great trunk of a tree.

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[1] *Aldea del Oro.*

This memorial then is the cause now of the whole dispute; and as already there is no one who has an exact remembrance of the spot where the said memorial was placed, it is now pretended that it was farther up than the province of the Omaguas, and accordingly they have informed the King of Portugal that I have been conducting a mission in lands belonging to him. I tried to overthrow the basis of such an erroneous claim, but, as they refused to admit any demonstration, I saw myself compelled for relief of my conscience to write from Pará to the ordinary ambassador of Castile at the Court of Lisbon, and to the Procurator-General of the Indies, that resided at Madrid, showing them clearly that my Mission is higher than that Memorial or boundary-mark; and even if I had overpast it, I should not have done anything to prejudice their territorial rights since that [act of] possession had never been confirmed by his Majesty, Philip IV, because they[1] took the said possession in the year 1639, when they descended from Quito by the river Napo, and before that notice of it reached the Catholic King, already in the early part of the year 1640 Portugal had separated itself from the Crown of Castile, acclaiming the Duke of Braganza as its King; and so the giving of such possession without controversy was null and void.

This is what happened to me in Pará. At the end of eighteen months the reply of the King of Portugal arrived at last for the information of the Governor, very different from what they were expecting in Pará. It came addressed to the new Governor, Antonio de Albuquerque, to whom the King said, that his [the Governor's] predecessor had advised him of how a certain sick Missionary Father of the Indies of Castile having arrived at Pará, he was detaining him, as a prisoner, awaiting a reply. This action was so much to be regretted, that had his appointment not already come to an end, for this alone he would have forfeited the Governorship. In consequence of the good relations, that his Catholic Majesty was professing, whose vassal I was, and being moreover a Father

[1] Pedro Teixeira and his companions.

of the Company of Jesus, he commanded that I should be sent back, at the charges of his Royal Treasury, to my Mission, and even to Quito should it be necessary. The new Governor having received this order from the King immediately sent me on the spot his congratulations, offering to carry out at once whatever I might direct.

I was desirous of returning accompanied only by some Indian rowers, so that the Natives where I had to pass might not be alarmed; but the Governor, in compliance with the King's order, wished me to be accompanied by an officer and some soldiers. While the canoes were being fitted up with all that was needful for the journey, three months more passed, so that the whole of my detention in Pará had been twenty-two months.

The officer, that the Governor assigned me, was called Antonio de Miranda, with six soldiers and a surgeon; among these only the surgeon and one soldier, Francisco Pailleta, were Portuguese whites; the lieutenant Braz de Barros was a mulatto, the others (Indian) half-breeds, or as the Portuguese call them *mamelucos*; the rowers Indians of various settlements some thirty-five in number. My canoe was medium-sized, some forty-four palms long and some eight palms across with its sail, and a cabin of boards in the stern. The canoe of the captain was smaller; that of the soldiers the biggest, the content about 300 *arrobas* for the carriage of our necessary provisions.

On the 6th of July, 1691, I set out from Pará with the satisfaction that every one can imagine, and I went to the sugar-mill of Captain Andres Piñero to say farewell. On July 9th I passed at Invaruru a property of our College. On the 10th I went to another sugar-mill belonging to Captain Antonio Ferreira, where I met the slave-raiding troop with its chaplain, the Father Juan Maria Garzoni. On the 11th having made sufficient course we slept in the canoes upon the river. On the following day we enter the river Tocantins; we leave on the right hand the large and dangerous Bay of Marapata, and arrive far in the night at Cumaba. Here we stop two days lading the canoes with two hundred panniers

or baskets of mandive flour. The Missionary of the village or small town was the Father Juan Justo Luca, a Piedmontese. They reckon that here we are thirty leagues from Pará.

On the 14th of July we left Comutá [Cumaba?] and enter by night among the Islands to secure ourselves from the tides. On the 15th in the morning we cross the Bay and pass along the shore, they call Limoero, which is very tempestuous and perilous. There we scarcely entered the mouth of a narrow arm, when the sea and the air began to change and to become stormy. We slept in the canoes. On the 16th we arrive by night at the village Las Bocas, where we stay to the following day.

On the 18th we left in the morning. We slept in the canoes. On the 19th we arrive at the village of the Engaibas, where the Father Antonio de Silva served as Missionary. On the 20th we left, and went on journeying to the 25th of the month without seeing a Settlement or people; this day we were in the sandbanks, where begins the Jurisdiction of Corupá. The 25th in the morning we came to Corupá, where the Captain of the fortress, named Manuel Guedes, Knight of the Order of Santiago, received me as a guest in his home with much kindness. We stop here this day, and at night he was desirous to take me to see the fortress, but as some Portuguese had regarded me as a spy, so as not to confirm them in their suspicion, I refused.

On the 27th of July we leave Corupá, and proceed on our course till the 30th. On this day we pass before an old fort of the Paru, and scarcely stopping, as it contains no more than one sergeant with a few Indians, we cross here the wide and stormy Bay of the Amazon and enter the harbour of Javacuara. Here the view is very beautiful, from lower down than Pará to above Javacuara plains and hills; some bare, others densely wooded. The village that is small is on high ground almost a league from the harbour in the midst of plains.

On July 31st after the Mass that I said in a deserted chapel of the harbour, we left Javacuara. On August 1st we pass by the mouth of the river Urubucuara. On the 2nd we arrive

by night at Curapahiba, where the Father Joseph Barreiros served as Missionary. The settlement is on a hill of considerable height, from whence are seen on one side plains, but flooded; on the other the river Amazon. On the 6th we ascend from Curapahiba and arrive at the Topayos in the morning of the 9th. These Topayos Indians are very skilful in weaving small flat baskets made from palm leaves dyed of various colours. Here a new fort is being erected for a Captain-Major; when I passed only a sergeant was serving. The settlement is above the mouth of the river.

On the 11th we leave the Topayos and proceed for six days without seeing a Settlement. On the 13th at evening we search and pass some steep reddish ravines on the southern shore. At night between 2 and 3 we encountered a great storm; my canoe was in peril amidst the surging cross-currents. The large canoe of the Infantry with the force of the surf had a big rudder smashed; and on that of the other crew all the rowing apparatus was broken so that it was unable to be steered. On the 14th at 4 in the afternoon we arrive at the narrows; the whole river Amazon here has a width of something less than a quarter of a league. All this coast for a day's journey where the river narrows is very rough with a very little wind. On the north bank among some hills the Condurises live and on the same bank the river of the Trompetas enters at the beginning of the narrows, before entering it is divided into three branches.

On the 17th at mid-day we arrive at the mouth of the river of the Tupinambaranas; at 8 in the evening at the village where the Father Antonio de Fonseca was serving. This village lies between lagoons. Here we stop nine days repairing the canoes. On the 26th in the evening we leave the Tupinambaranas, and journey six days without seeing settlement or people. On September 2nd we arrive at night at a sandbank that is some two leagues below the mouth of the Urubú. Here the Father Fr. Theodosio Vegas, a Mercenarian and Missionary of Urubú, awaited us with a large number of his people. He gave me a kind welcome as he had done on my voyage downstream. Here we stay the next day. His Indians were very anxious

to see me, for some of them, while I was kept a prisoner in Pará, frightened all the natives around, saying that an earthquake and horrible parting-asunder of the ground, which had occurred some eight leagues higher up, on the same northern shore, had happened because of me, and that they would all perish, if the Portuguese did not restore me to my Mission. Another cause of terror was connected with a little basket that an Indian tribesman had brought to Pará by command of his chief for me; it was not possible to learn from whence it came or what it contained except a woollen girdle. They said that it came from a far distance passing from settlement to settlement, and none of the natives dared to open it, but as soon as they delivered it to a Chief, he sent it on to another settlement warning them not to open it, because they said it arrived at the time of the great calamity and fire, and that those opening it would all be burnt up. Another fictitious story, while I was kept in Pará, was bruited among these natives, that they had cut me in pieces, but that I was immortal, and that my soul caused the pieces immediately to unite and to enter a second time into the body. With these and very many other absurd tales that some Fathers had heard told among the Indians, they say that they were all perturbed and would have nothing to do with the Portuguese, unless they gave them the Father. Father Fray Theodosio in order to persuade his Indians that I was a man, like other men, bade some of them to touch my hands.

On the 4th of September we depart from this sandbank at midnight. At dawn we pass the mouth of the Urubú on the northern bank, and on the southern bank we leave somewhat higher up the river Madeira and a large island, that formerly the Tupinambaranas inhabited, now inhabited by some natives called Guayarises. On the 5th at midday we pass the mouth of the river Matari on the northern bank where it is very narrow and forms a great lagoon. On the 6th in the morning on the north bank we came upon the lands, where in the month of June of the past year, 1690, there was a very great earthquake; ruins of large villages were visible, fallen rocks, huge plantations uprooted and

thrown into the river, very high ground with the scrub on the top fallen, and white, red and yellow earth, stones and trees hurled from the height and piled up above the river. In another part lagoons drained, woods destroyed and everything mixed together in disorder. Where the soil had been of sand or clay, there had not been any havoc. Fr. Theodosio said that at the same time there were terrible tides in the river and an immense quantity of fish died, and this the natives were attributing to my detention, saying that Pará and all of them were doomed to perish. They were declaring further that for some four leagues of the river there had been even greater havoc inland, and that the earthquake had travelled for some three hundred leagues upstream as far as the islands of the Omaguas, whose houses, they told me afterwards, had been much shaken.

On the 7th of September we encounter a strong current, against which the two canoes could make no headway. By night we arrive at the mouth of the Rio Negro, where the King of Portugal some years ago commanded a fortress to be made. Here we celebrate on the following day the festival of the Nativity of our Lady. This day there came to see me more than eighty Indian natives, Taromas, with their principal Chief, named Carabaina, bringing many gifts of food. All were much afraid of me because of the earthquake referred to. They promised me that they would not from that time forward wage war any more with the Cuchivaras, Ybanomas and Jurimaguas. One of these Taromas, without my observing it, having been gained over by a gift of the lieutenant Braz de Barros and certain soldiers, sought behind my back to take my measurement with his bow, and as this was short he went to cut a rod with which added to his bow he measured me. We do not ask with what object. At last after they had seen and heard me, the chief, Carabaina, begged that I would go back with them and be their Father, that his people had no love for those of Pará, and he much regretted, he said, that when I went downstream I had not come to shore in his territory, for he would have welcomed and accompanied me. These Taromas trade with the Caripunas and other friends

of the French of Cayenne, from whom they have obtained a gun.

On the 9th of the same month we set out from the Rio Negro accompanied by twelve Taromas, to the middle of the River; at the point of the Island, the water is black, and that of the Amazon turbid, so that one sees plainly the meeting of these two rivers. We journey for nine days without seeing a settlement. On the 16th and 17th in the midst of islands and lagoons we arrived at the burnt settlement of the Cuchivaras; through the war that took place between them and the Indians of Urubú the previous year, they burnt and left it. Here we stay the following day. From its site I went with the lieutenant in a small canoe in search of these Cuchivaras, since all of them had retreated through fear to my great regret, as in my voyage down they had been very kind to me; but as they were far away and it would be necessary to pass the night in the journey, I returned this same day to the troop, so as not to risk any lives, being few in number.

On the 18th at five in the afternoon we set out from this burnt village. The Captain carried off in fetters a Cuchivara that they had picked up in the river, so that he should not evade, but should act, as guide. On the 19th we send forward the canoe of the Taromas to a village of the Ybanomas, but they discovered it however to be deserted and burnt. From here we travel thirteen days without meeting people. On the 22nd the Taromas go away, and so we are left without a guide. On the 24th at three in the afternoon we arrive at high red gullies on the southern bank. On the 27th at five in the morning the continuous highlands on the southern bank began. On the 2nd of October at the opening of night we obtain a view of the village, Juaboni of the Ybanomas, that stands at the mouth of the river Jupura. We do not enter so as not to disturb them at night time. On the 3rd at dawn I went forward in a canoe with four Indians, and on arriving at the port I caused the big drum to be struck. The people of the village, as soon as they saw me, remained in the settlement, and received me with great gladness. I conferred with them so that they should not be disturbed by the coming of

the Portuguese, who accompanied me, and I at once said the votive mass of the Holy Trinity as an act of thanksgiving. We afterwards to avoid offence went to the other side of the Village, where they came to welcome me with cassava, plantains, and turtles.

On the 4th of October at four in the afternoon we departed. The chief, called Arimavana, accompanied us with his people in two small canoes. On the 5th about midday we reach another Village. These Ybanomas had come from lower down to plant themselves on an island near the high gullies, because the Taromas, before I made my descent, had killed four of them. On the 6th by night we pass the island of Quitiniatate of the Aysuares. On the 7th we arrive at dawn at another Village of these Aysuares on an Island. On the 8th about ten o'clock we reach Gaiveni, a Village of Aysuares. We leave at four in the afternoon and went to a sand-bank to sleep. On the 9th at eight o'clock we reach another Village of the Aysuares on an Island. We found it uninhabited, all the people had retired. On the 10th at dawn we enter another Village of Aysuares at Jurucuate, also uninhabited. On the 11th before dawn we pass the mouth of the river Jurua and arrive at another uninhabited Village of Aysuares, Samorvate. On the 12th at midday we arrive at Guapapate, a village of the Jurimagua tribe, also uninhabited. On the 13th we meet two Jurimaguas, that were fleeing and said that all in the neighbouring settlements had fled because an Ybanoma Indian, called Manoto, a one-eyed cripple, had alarmed them saying that the Father was coming no more, but only the Portuguese burning, enslaving and killing.

At nine o'clock we arrive at the Mission Station of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* of the Jurimaguas, which I found entirely uninhabited, and the Church burnt through the carelessness of a lad, except the painting-on-canvas of our Lady, which was most marvellously preserved. We took up our abode on a neighbouring sandbank and despatch two canoes in search of people. I sent my cross that they might be assured of my arrival. On the 16th the Chief Mativa came with some of his men. As I saw that all the people were alarmed by the coming

of the Portuguese in my company, I begged the Captain to return with the soldiers downstream, since we were already within my Mission, but he pressed me to take him with me at any rate to the first settlement of the Omaguas, as the Governor had charged him to accompany me as far as the Omaguas. On the 18th of October we went to Mayavara the farthermost village of the Omaguas, that we find however wholly uninhabited. Here we repeat our instances to the Captain, that he should return downstream since the welfare and tranquillity of these natives required it. He yielded at last to my reasoning, and we both returned from there to the Village of the Jurimaguas. On the 20th, the troop being on the point of starting on their downward journey, the Captain explained to me that the motive for seeking to pass to the Omaguas had been to take possession of those lands according to the secret order he received from his Governor, and intimated to me that I should immediately withdraw from these lands, I should say provinces, since they belong to the Crown of Portugal. I was much surprised at the novelty of this proposal, as being so little in agreement with the map, and the intention of his own King. I replied that I had already given sufficient satisfaction to his Governor, when in Pará and by letter to his King, showing that the lands in which I had up till that time served as Missionary belonged beyond all controversy to the Crown of Castile, and so without prejudice to Portuguese claims I should pursue my missionary work in them. That which caused me greater wonder was that he should make such-like statements in my presence, notwithstanding that my vocation was to die for the Faith, that is to say for the salvation and peace of these poor Indians, and not to argue about territories; and as to what should be done, his business was to give account to those whom that question concerned, so that they might settle the proper remedies. On this without discussion the Captain and soldiers embarked and with firing of guns set off down the river. I was left in that village, full of thought, meditating upon the toils and troubles that in process of time this my Mission had probably to suffer.

The Portuguese, after they had departed, went to Guapapate a day down-stream, and stayed there in front of the Village ten days, gathering there on the mainland Sarsaparilla. They also made there on the south bank a clearing in the forest leaving for a land-mark a large tree, that they call *Samona*, saying that they had to come there to settle; and I doubt not that they would do so because of their craving to make slaves of the Indians from here upwards, in addition to which they imagine that from here they can find a gate of entrance to El Dorado, that they dream is not very distant. That which I verified from the Omaguas—I mean the Jurimaguas—is that at those gold mines of which I made mention above[1], when speaking of the Manaves Indians, there existed in visible form a man, like a Spaniard, that according to the signs can be no other than the Infernal Dragon that in that shape stands on guard over those golden apples.

After the departure of the Portuguese I remained in the Mission-station of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* until the month of November, teaching and collecting together those that had retired through fear of the Portuguese. From there I ascended to the district of the Omaguas, visiting most of the settlements as I passed. On the 3rd of November I arrived in the evening at Mayavara; on the 4th at Quataran; on the 5th at Arasate; on the 6th at Miravite, almost at the end of this Village is a mouth of the river Yatay, that descends from Cusco. We went for sleeping a quarter of a league higher up on a sandbank, that is called "the Prayer" bank, because that there on my first entry we prayed with the people; and from that time it preserves this name, which the natives gave it. Half a league higher up is another mouth of the river Yatay.

On the 7th I arrived at Canafia. Opposite this Village is the principal mouth of the river Yatay. On the 8th I arrived at Ibarate; on the 9th at Vates. I departed the following day. On the 11th at Cuatinavates; on the 12th at Cucunate. On the 13th we voyaged along the highlands of the Caivisanas

[1] See special note.

on the north bank. On the 14th I reached Maracate; on the 15th Catoreara: here I stayed six days teaching the people. On the 22nd I left Catoreara; on the 24th I arrived at Joete; on the 25th at Yuvasate; on the 26th at Menebate; on the 27th at Chipatite; on the 29th at Tucuti, where I stayed for the following day. On the 1st of December I set out from Tucuti; on the 2nd I arrived at Arupapate; by night at Coquite; on the 3rd at Guacarate; on the 5th I arrived at Amciavate, here I left the following day. On the 7th at eight o'clock I arrived at Quemate; on the 9th before dawn we pass the mouth of the Yavari. On the 11th I arrived at Joaivate, and stayed here another day. On the 13th I left Joaivate; on the 14th we pass three great streams, and on the 22nd of December in the evening I arrived at the Mission-station of San Joaquim, the starting-point of my Mission. In all parts the Omaguas received me with great signs of joy, but it was here that they showed it most brightly, although many had withdrawn from the settlement, so that it was necessary once more to gather them together and catechize them. Here I stayed until the beginning of February, which was the date when I set out to this settlement of La Laguna to see my brethren the missionaries higher up and to give an account to the Superior of the Mission of so long an absence. I arrived at this Mission, the head today of all the missions, in the last days of February, 1692, having spent on the way from San Joaquim 25 days. Here I met my beloved Father Henrique Richter, missionary of Cunibos, with the office of Vice Superior, since the Father Superior Fernando Viva was absent in Xacu planning a dreaded entry among the Xeberos. Father Henrique told me that they had made many supplications for my soul, deeming me already dead at the hands of the Infidels, or buried beneath the waves of the Marañon. My thanks to all for this work of charity.

The Journal of Father Samuel touching his descent to Gran Pará and return to the Settlement of La Laguna ends at this point; this I have copied to the letter, adding only some clauses concerning the dispute that he had with the Portuguese extracted from a letter the said Father wrote to his

Superiors on this subject. Onwards from here, since his Journals are exceedingly prolix, and with some interruptions through certain leaves having disappeared, I will pursue the thread of my narrative, extracting from the said Journals whatever would appear to me most worthy of public remembrance, and supplying what is missing with notices that I have found in letters of other missionaries, contemporaries of the Father.

§ III

Father Samuel *passes from the Marañon to the Court of Lima, and from there returns once more to his Mission of the Omaguas*

Father Samuel having arrived at the Settlement of La Laguna on his return from Gran Pará carried away by his zeal, and fearing lest the Portuguese should be introducing themselves every day more and more in his Mission, destroying the plantation that has cost him so much toil, was discussing a flying visit to Quito to give an account to this Real Audiencia of what had befallen him in that journey, and of the intentions of the Portuguese against his mission and the rights of the Crown of Castile, but the Governor of Maynas and Marañon, Dr Geronimo Vaca de la Vega, who happened to be at this time in the said settlement, held it to be more to the mark that the Father should go to the Court of Lima to meet the Lord Viceroy, who was at that time the Conde de Moncobla, who would inform His Catholic Majesty of everything, and with more expedition than the Audiencia of Quito, and would make perhaps some provision for the comfort and security of the Missions. The proposal of the Governor seemed to the Father Vice-Superior very advisable; and as there was danger in delay and notwithstanding that he saw the great gap that this fresh absence would make in the Father's mission work, he determined that he should be despatched immediately on this journey, that was not much less extensive than that from Gran Pará, by ways that in a

great part were very rough and dangerous. The Father obedient to the least suggestion of his Superiors, after a brief rest of some days, set out cheerfully on his way by the rivers Guallaga and Paranapura, from whence they penetrate to Mayobamba and passed from there to Chachapoyas, Caxamarca, Truxillo and Lima, where they arrive on the 2nd of July of this same year 1692. The days-routes and the events of this journey I did not find detailed in the Journals of the Father. Arrived at that city, I mean Court, he directed his steps, as he was accustomed, to the Church of St Paul of Our Company, where he chanced to encounter the whole community assembled. Father Samuel was a tall man, ruddy, and spare in appearance, venerable, with very curly beard. His dress was a short cassock reaching to the middle of his leg made of palm fibre, with hempen shoes on his feet, and a cross of *chonta*[1]-wood in his hand. When our people suddenly saw that Apostolic Man accompanied by some Indians of strange face and dress, that he had brought with him from the Marañon, they were struck with astonishment thinking that they saw a Pachomius[2] that had just come up from the deserts of the Thebaid. A large part of Lima ran together for this spectacle; and there was no one who, by the mere sight of him, did not hold him for a holy man. Our people [the Jesuit fathers] rivalled one another in exercising towards him the offices of the most delicate kindness, and the Provincial Father of that Province bade him at once to quit his present ragged clothes that they might clothe him in a new cassock with all the rest, which the Father was very averse to do, but was obliged at last to yield obedience to the bidding of his Superior. From there the same Provincial conducted him in person to the Palace of the Lord Viceroy, who received him with great demonstrations of love and veneration.

Even greater was the estimation which he conceived for the Father on reading the Journal that he presented to him

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[1] A kind of very hard species of palm.
[2] An Egyptian Cenobite monk of the fourth century.

of his apostolic wanderings, and the register of the many baptisms that he had brought about in the space of seven years in more than forty settlements of different tribes, each one with its own Holy Patrons. The Lord Viceroy, being a knight of great piety, did not cease to wonder at the orderings of the Divine Providence in the spiritual conquest of these peoples, who had been for so many centuries tyrannized over by the Demon, without any of so many *conquistadores* having had the good fortune to subject them to the yoke of Christ and the Spanish dominion, and now with such ease had they yielded themselves to the preaching of a poor Missionary without an escort, without even any outward apparatus such as with barbarians is wont to conciliate respect and esteem. In this conquest he seemed to behold a renewal of the miracles of the primitive Church; and in the Missionary, of whom a living picture has been given, the zeal and the virtues likewise of the first Apostles. He summoned him no small number of times to his palace, and with particular interest and admiration caused him to tell of the customs and marvellous conversions of those barbarians, showing at the same time much sympathy and tenderness at hearing of the hardships and toils that the good Father had suffered in that enterprize, and that all the other Missionaries of the Marañon suffer. It seemed as if he could not find expressions wherewith to declare his feelings, and promised repeatedly his favour and protection in order to bring about their alleviation.

Notwithstanding this, when Father Samuel spoke to him concerning the advances of the Portuguese of Pará in the lands of the dominion of Spain and the ruin that they were threatening to the new Mission, he held back, demonstrating that no suitable remedy could be offered since the Portuguese also are Catholic Christians and warlike people, and because as a temporality those forests return no fruit to the King of Spain as do many other provinces, that with more reason and title ought by every obligation to be defended from hostile invasions. Finally he concluded by saying that in these wide-spread Indies there were lands sufficient for both crowns. However he would inform His Majesty as soon

as possible upon the matter, and that perhaps from there some help would come. Meanwhile the Father and the rest of the Missionaries should occupy themselves with the means that discretion suggested to their holy zeal for proceeding with a work so much to the Glory of God and of the Company, that the Divine Goodness would not permit that labours so pleasing to Him should meet with ill-success.

After many conferences that Father Samuel had with the Lord Viceroy over the subject of his missions, he presented him at last with a memorial of the following tenor:

Most Excellent Señor.

Samuel Fritz, priest, professed member of the Company, Missionary of the river Marañon or Amazon, says that although the temporal conquest of this great river Marañon, that with arms and force of people from the year 1599 was attempted as well by Gonzales Pizarro as by Pedro de Orsua twenty years later, and was continued in the year 1639 by the Portuguese expedition from Quito with a Royal Commission given to Father Christoval de Acuña of the Company of Jesus. That these, which have been the most memorable troops in this enterprize, did not accomplish the desired intentions, having either themselves met with ill-success or been destroyed. Notwithstanding this there remained on the part of our Company the intention of a spiritual Conquest from the beginning of the year 1637, i.e. to effect a conquest on this river Amazon in such difficult forests and to bring such wide-spread heathendom into submission to the Catholic Faith. By good fortune among those barbarous tribes Christian Mission-stations were already to be seen that had been founded among the Maynas, Xeberos, Cocamas, Panos, Chamicuros, Aguanos, Muniches, Otanaves, Roamaynas, Gaes and I do not recount any more for being already known, and, as we say, "old Christians," where the Fathers of our Company up till now spent their lives and some even poured out their blood that among these tribes the doctrine of Christ and the Holy Catholic Faith should be planted and founded.

The conquests [territories] that I am with all due sub-

mission bringing to your Excellency's notice in this Memorial are those of my Mission, from the river Napo to where the Portuguese have already taken possession to the great prejudice of the Crown of Castile (without referring to their further pretensions). A country about 500 leagues in extent and of very widespread heathen-populations along the whole of the river Amazon, approachable on both banks for the purpose of bringing them to the bosom of the Holy Church; and at the present time I have already subjected to the Gospel of Christ thirty-eight villages of the Omagua province, the Mission-station of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* of the tribe of the Jurimaguas, and two villages of the Aysuares tribe. In the eight first mission-stations of the Omaguas, both children and adults were baptized; in the rest only the innocents. These Your Excellency will have seen in the Map; and I registered the baptized in my Mission. The Pevas, Guareicus, Canvisanas, Ybanomas, those of the river Aranavate, the Cuchivaras and the Taromas of the Rio Negro have become friends, in such a manner that the principal Chief of the Taromas reproached the Portuguese, who had accompanied me from Pará last year, 1691, for the injuries they had experienced from them, and that they had no love for the Portuguese, but for me, who was their Father. Chiefs came more than twenty or thirty leagues; and other Indians with their families, to be instructed and baptized; others to invite me to come also to their settlements and give them instruction in the Christian religion.

But as all these tribes with their lives and customs are very barbarous, and especially those so great numbers of heathen retired in the wide backwoods, on both sides of the river Amazon, amongst whom there are many that, over and above the cruel slaughters, feed upon the flesh of their enemies; and I up till now for seven years have been granted practically no help from Quito in iron implements and trinkets for gaining the good will of these barbarians, still less, for the sake of decency and esteem among them, requisites for the Churches. Except a portable altar with an ornament now become ragged, and a little bell, I have nothing; nothing is

given from the Royal Treasury of Quito to the Missions, nor has it been possible to get any men that might have assisted as well for the protection of life, as for better conduct of the affairs of the Catholic Faith and extirpation of the barbarous customs. For which cause and through lack of more persons, neither I nor the other Missionaries have been able to respond to our zeal, and I aver that with the grace of the Lord, if I had had fitting assistance and help there would have been a much larger harvest of those souls, for the bosom of the Holy Church.

Therefore prostrated at the feet of Your Excellency I beg and beseech you to deign to command that help should be given me from the Royal Treasury for the present necessities of my Mission, and to send information concerning the state of it to the King our Lord, so that His Majesty may command the Royal Audiencia of Quito to assist me and the other Missionaries of this river Amazon from the Royal Chest each year with a definite succour, and that they should pay from there ten or a dozen men to go and to be of my choice and at my disposition to assist me among those barbarians in the propagation of the Holy Faith and extension of the Empire of His Catholic Majesty. In obtaining which may I receive the favour, which I hope from the greatness and Christian zeal of Your Excellency.

The reply of the Fiscal Royal, who was at this time Dr Matthias Lagunes was, as follows:

The Fiscal says that the first and chiefest obligation of Our Kings and Lords in these kingdoms of the Indies is the propagation of our Holy Catholic Faith in the conversion of such innumerable Provinces and barbarous natives as there are in this most extensive Continent of Peru and New Spain, and the Suppliant having come to this city from his mission of the Omaguas in the river Marañon with the need that he has demonstrated to Your Excellency of ornaments for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and of other things that he mentions in his memorial for being able to maintain that Mission, and to attract the good-will of the Indians in these provinces

that are separated from our intercourse, and where the Missionaries find themselves among barbarians deprived of every aid without further resource than that of protection.

In consideration of which and of the Christian and burning zeal, with which Father Samuel Fritz has served at this Mission with great approbation among those heathens, thirty-eight settlements being Christianized according to the report that he has made to Your Excellency with the registers of the baptisms and assurance from the Fiscal of the Real Audiencia of Quito of the good condition and progress of the Mission of the Omaguas and the rest of the Maynas; one must in the service of Your Excellency demand that everything that is set out in the Memorial be purchased from the Royal Treasury, and that there be given in addition all that this Ecclesiastic needs for his journey to the Mission, all which will be entirely in accordance with the Royal Will of His Majesty, and in regard to the succour that he also asks to be given to him by the Lord President of Quito so that he might have in his company some Spaniards to help him and assist in the conversion, [the Fiscal] considers this to be one of the points of chiefest importance in connection with the new conversions, and since ordinarily their falling-away or increase is wont to consist in there being found there one priest or two without any other person to protect them amidst such barbarous nations naturally their Christianizing has its difficulties, and there ought to be provided regular human means, and one of them to be approved and ordered by Royal Letters-patent is this that some Spaniards should accompany the Missionaries for their protection and respect; and also that this should have greater profitableness, there should be with them a number of soldiers and an officer-in-command to whom every one going in company with the priests should be obedient at his disposition, and order; that in the first place they should make choice of men, who were Christian and would go more through devotion than for gain, and in case they should find anyone committing any notable excesses, they should dismiss him from their company. Should the chance be otherwise the priest finding himself in the

Mission, as Father Samuel found himself, it is a great drawback to the conversions and to the defence and protection of the converted against other tribes their enemies; and the cause is the more important, that the Fiscal has considered that the Missions of the Company in the Maynas and Marañon have not in so many years been found to have made a greater advance, and that without doubt they would have made their way into more of this Province, if the Fathers had had any protection and assistance of people of their devotion, and Your Excellency's decision in a matter of such grave importance will give the greatest provision that is proper.

Dr Matthias Lagunes.

Lima, 2nd of October 1692.

The provision that the Lord Viceroy gave was to command, that they should grant from henceforth to the Father from the Royal Chest one thousand pesos that he should employ in [the purchase of] bells, ornaments, and other costly articles conducive to the adornment and decent furnishing of his new Churches; and in order that he might the better know the desire that he had to favour him, he added from his own personal property some precious articles of silver, bottles of wine for the sacrifices and a good sum of journey money for his return, which amounted in all to two thousand pesos. To all this he added a Royal decree directed to the *corregidores* and justices of the places by which the Father had to pass on his return to his Mission, in which he bade them on pain of incurring his displeasure to receive the Father with all respect and veneration, to assist him, and provide, as if for their own persons, whatever he should need for his comfort and ease in so toilsome a journey, and should give the necessary provision with all possible punctuality for the safe-conduct of the precious objects he was bringing, so as to arrive at the banks of the Marañon and the terminus of the Mission to which he was journeying.

The Father was much gratified at the so great liberality and courtesy of the Lord Viceroy, as also at the kindnesses and presents, that he had received from other persons at that

Court. He set out from Lima at the end of May of the year 1693 directing his course straight to the Marañon where he arrived happily in August of the same year. The road that he took on his return was by Jaen of Bracamoros and the defile of the Pongo, registering carefully the halting-places to the River Marañon and taking the heights of the more important places for the perfecting of his map and geographical reckonings. Every one can easily imagine the joy that his return caused to the whole Mission, for having successfully set out on this his second journey and for returning enriched with so many gifts for the adornment of his Churches; with hope that as time went on the information that he had given concerning the advances of the Portuguese in lands contiguous to the dominion of Spain would not have been given in vain.

I will add here, as a conclusion to this paragraph, some statements that the same Father made, when he was at Lima, concerning the demarcation between the dominions—*conquistas*—of Portugal and Castile on the river Marañon, and which he left with other papers that he had written in Pará in the hands of the Lord Viceroy, so that he might be able with the greater substantiality to give information to His Majesty on the matter under consideration.

Statement concerning the line of demarcation between the dominions of Spain and Portugal on the river Marañon.

The limit or boundary-mark between the two dominions of the Crowns of Castile and Portugal is found in the grant of the Bull of Alexander VI, in which he ordered that an imaginary line should be drawn from pole to pole distant twenty-two degrees and a third to the West of the Islands of Cabo Verde; and that the discoveries and conquests to the West of this line should for ever belong to the Kings of Spain, and the conquests to the East to the Kings of Portugal.

As regards this Grant both Crowns accepted it, and made a settlement in the treaties of Peace that were concluded the one at Tordesillas on June 7th, 1493; the other in Lisbon on May 7th, 1581.

But as afterwards there were some controversies and doubts, for greater clearness and assurance of the limits the business was concluded in the later agreement of Lisbon. Although there was still a controversy on some points the following (as admitted) are referred to here only for the purpose of demonstrating, that the Portuguese have no just title to enter all those lands on the river Marañon, of which they have taken possession, still less can they justly make pretensions farther to the West. That the beginning of counting in longitude the 22 degrees and a third had to be from the western edge of the Island of San Antonio of Cabo Verde, and there must be no more than so many from the meridian of the said island of San Antonio to the meridian of the boundary; the which meridian has to pass by the mouth of the river Vicente Pinzon, where by command of Charles V was placed in former days the boundary mark in marble with the arms of the Crown of Castile to the West, and sculptured to the East those of the Crown of Portugal.

In this same agreement of Lisbon it is recorded that from the said Island of San Antonio to the mouth of this river Amazon, there are seventeen and two-thirds degrees of longitude, and as for the completion of twenty-two degrees and one-third there lack four degrees and two-thirds, to these only have the Portuguese pretensions and no more in this river up to the meridian of the demarcation, and that all the rest from there to the West is included within the demarcation of Castile. Whatsoever possession has been made within the boundaries of another prince is null and invalid, nor can the conveyance of any part, nor being the first occupant, give prescription.

Also a reference is made in the Lisbon agreement to the determination settled in that of Tordesillas, that the lands beyond the demarcation should be restored by whichever party, notwithstanding any kind of possession that should have taken place in them, as in the Continent and Island of San Gabriel facing the Rio de la Plata, although the Spaniards took possession for the Crown of Castile in the year 1515, since afterwards it was ascertained that it was in the demar-

cation of the Crown of Portugal, they left it to the Portuguese, according to the settlement referred to.

From what has been said clearly the conclusion is: firstly that as the Portuguese do not rightly pretend nor can pretend to more than four degrees and two-thirds in longitude from the mouth of the Amazon, their rightful dominion and demarcation reaches only as far as the meridian that passes through the mouth of the river Vicente Pinzon and so all the rest of the lands, rivers and peoples towards the West rightly belong to the dominion and are within the demarcation of the Crown of Castile.

Secondly the possessions that from the said meridian of the demarcation that passes the mouth of the river of Vicente Pinzon the Portuguese have up to the present taken towards the West are invalid and null. Thus the dominion that from there to the Rio Negro they have already usurped, as likewise the possession that recently in the year 1691 a Portuguese Captain Antonio de Miranda, took above the river Jurua by order, as he said, of the Governor of Gran Pará, Antonio de Albuquerque. All these possessions as they are in the demarcation of Castile are null, nor can the Portuguese make any pretence to the lands as far as Napo; and although the *Audiencia* of Quito gave leave to Teixeira to take possession of a village that they call *Aldea del Oro*, somewhat farther up than the River Cuchivara, this possession likewise was null, since it was never confirmed by the King Philip IV, for before the news of this had reached him, Portugal had separated herself from the Crown of Castile, wherefore it follows that the Portuguese ought to restore the lands they have occupied from the meridian that passes by the mouth of the river Vicente Pinzon.

Thirdly it follows that the enslavement of the Indians that the Portuguese carry away from these lands for their service, despatching every year a troop for this object, and by redeeming from the hands of these heathen the captives that they take in their wars, is illegitimate and contrary to all right, and much more the vexations and cruelties the Indians have suffered and suffer that live in the Islands and Banks

of the River, for not wishing to hand over to them their captives and to carry on war with those of the main-land.

Fourthly, in presence of the boundary mark that was in olden times placed close to the river Pinzon, one cannot permit the Portuguese to take possession as far as the Rio Negro that is nine degrees of longitude distant from the said river Pinzon, for thus the line of demarcation would have been much displaced; much more if they should seek to extend it to the Napo, which is their intention, and it has appeared to me necessary to notify this, since it is evident that the Castilian Company[1] cannot without a firm foundation have extended its conquests much below the river Napo and have a right to push them forward even though it should be as far as Gran Pará, for all these lands belong to the Crown of Castile, unless meanwhile another decision be arrived at in the Courts of Spain and Rome.

§ IV

Letter of Father Samuel *to* Father Diego Francisco Altamirano, *Visitor of the Province of Quito, in which an account is given of what occurred in the Mission of the Omaguas, Jurimaguas, &c., from September,* 1693 *to the end of July,* 1696

My Father Visitor in this letter I render account to Your Reverence and to the whole Province of my Mission from the time that I returned from the Court of Lima. In the year 1693, having returned to these high-forest districts, I at once went down to my Mission with intention to transfer the principal villages to high positions on the main-land, where they would be more secure from the inundations of the Marañon, and to erect in them Churches and more substantial dwellings. I began with San Joaquim, although with some reluctance on the part of the inhabitants, who much dislike living on the main-land, because both banks are ploughed, as

[1] Of Jesus.

it were, by various roads by which the heathen-tribes, who live in the interior of the forest, descend to the River desirous of killing Omaguas, for many have been treacherously slain and captured, by these lords and corsairs of the river. I transferred thus San Joaquim to the land of Cammuris close to the river in a high position, and suitable for Church and means of sustenance.

At this settlement besides the Omaguas some families of the tribe of the Pevas have also gathered, who were living on the river Chiquito, and have now come to seek my protection seeing that they were being persecuted by their enemies, the Cammuris. In the same manner I transferred the Omaguas of Joaivate to the land of Mayorunas; those of Ameibate, to the land of Curinas; founding two new villages below the sanctuaries, the one of *Nuestra Señora de Guadelupe* and the other of *San Pablo*. To these two villages, as also to that of San Joaquim, little by little the Indians, that were living dispersed in different islands, keep flocking, that they may be taught more easily, as soon as there are Missionaries to attend to them.

While I was busy with the foundation and instruction of these three Settlements, I received information of how some Portuguese had ascended as far as the Jurimaguas, and even more than thirty leagues farther in the Omagua province as far as the Settlement, Vate, to trade, and ransom captives (for slaves), therefore as quickly as I could, I travelled down-stream to visit the rest of my Mission. I set out from San Joaquim on February 24th, 1695. I gave most of the Omagua settlements a wide berth, travelling mostly by night. On March 14th I arrived at the Settlement of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* of the Jurimaguas. Four days before I arrived, the Portuguese had gone down the river with the Cacao they had gathered and some slaves. The Chief of the Jurimaguas said that they had departed from there very annoyed, threatening them and the Aysuares that they would return, as soon as possible, to carry them all off as prisoners down-stream, because they were refusing to give them their sons to carry away with them to Pará, and captives to ransom (as slaves).

When they asked them for their sons, they were accustomed to reply, that the Father (speaking of myself) would be annoyed; and that they had no Father to obey, except me, and also when they were asking for captives, they told them that already they had no more enemies from whom they could be taken, for I had noted in my book all the nations of the interior and had made peace with all of them forbidding them to make war.

As none of these Indians have ever seen any Governor or Spaniard, except me, whatever the Portuguese said to them, they always were appealing to the Father, so that the Captain annoyed that he could not extract from them what he was claiming, told the Chief, that this River did not belong to the Father, but to the *Moravisaba* (thus were they accustomed to call the Portuguese Governor) and that they[1] had to return and bind them all by order of the said *Moravisaba*. Remarkable is the respect and trust that these Indians have in the Father so that they are persuaded, that the Father by himself alone is sufficient to confront all the Portuguese; and so every time that they receive any harm all their defence is to say I must go to the Father to complain. We have neither master nor protection, but our Father, whose love for us is far greater than your love, since with you there is no Father like ours with knowledge of everything.

Before I arrived at the Jurimaguas the Chiefs of the Aysuares and Ybanomas had charged the chief of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* to give them notice of my arrival at this settlement. They were desirous to come and see me and to have a talk with me, and so a few days after my arrival at the first news the said Chiefs came, ascending from very distant parts, some having spent more than twenty days in arriving. While they were arriving, I occupied myself in teaching the Jurimaguas in their language, which is quite different from that of the Omaguas. On the arrival of the said Chiefs I likewise explained to them apart the mysteries of our Christian Religion, and gave them to understand how only for love of them, so that they should not go to Hell, had I come from

[1] The Captain and his troop.

very distant lands, and taken up my abode among them with so great discomfort, but as they were living so remote the one from the others in Islands so ill-favoured, where one cannot build a fixed Church, and besides this were the objects of such persecutions of the Portuguese, I counselled them to transport themselves higher up in the neighbourhood of San Joaquim of the Omaguas, where I could help them, and instruct them with much affection; and they agreed with all that I was saying to them, and a Chief of the Aysuares, suddenly uttering a sigh, said to me, "Father, I probably am doomed to perish, because you did not come here, while I was a boy, to teach me the law of God." I consoled him and encouraged him so to profit by my instruction, that God would not refuse him salvation.

I observed, that notwithstanding that all showed a desire to follow me higher up, they had many motives for receding from this resolution, and the chief one is, that living down there they provide themselves with ease and at small cost with English iron-implements from the river Orinoco, because they buy them in exchange for certain beads that they make from spiral-shells more esteemed among those peoples, than those of glass. With these beads the traders, that they call Cavauri, travel to the lands of other heathens, and redeem some captives. These they afterwards convey to the Rio Negro to the Guaranaguas, as far as where the English[1] arrive, since, as they tell me, a few days from these Guaranaguas travelling by land one arrives at the Pajorales and River Orinoco. These Indians, therefore, by removing, as I counselled them, high up the river would be able with difficulty to obtain from our Missionaries this trade in iron-goods, which they now carry on with so great facility, the number of the people being large and the poverty of these Missions very great. Nevertheless we leave it settled, that if the Portuguese continue to molest them, they would ascend higher-up, otherwise they would remain in their lands, and Missionaries

[1] More probably Dutch. The Dutch had at this time a fortified station at the mouth of the Orinoco, from whence they traded with the interior by means of their friends the Caribs (Cavauri?).

would go there to live in their company. On the same occasion a Jurimagua Chief of the Macuaya Settlement, who had come from below, complained to me, as to how the Captain Antonio de Miranda, who had accompanied me from Pará, on his return down-stream made with his soldiers an incursion in the river Jupura, and having met with his [the Chief's] son and another Indian they killed his son with a shot. The other escaped, and they carried away captive down-stream the women that were in their company. The Chief of the Ybanomas also informed me of other incursions, that the said Captain had made; one at another Jurimagua settlement capturing much people; another at an Ybanoma settlement, that is close to a lagoon, but as these resisted calling upon the Father, at last they left them alone; another finally at a stream, called Cuari, where they cruelly killed, though they were not opposed, very many people, and the rest they took away for slaves. This Chief begged me for a letter to the Governor of Pará, asking him to forbid his people to ascend upstream, and to practice such like acts of violence. I did what he asked, but it appears to have had no effect.

On the 23rd of April I departed from the Settlement of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* on my return up the river visiting the Province of Great Omagua. I arrived at San Joaquim on the 4th of June to proceed with building the Church and instructing the people. On the 1st of September the heathen Cammuris suddenly attacked the Settlement of San Joaquim. At the noise of the fight and the shouts of the people, I ran up with my Cross to die with or for my neophytes, ordering them at the same time to ring the bells. As they found resistance, notwithstanding that the Omaguas were few that were found at home in the Settlement, and, as I hold for very probable, at the sound of the bells that they never had heard, the assailants fled, having left only two of my people wounded with poisoned lances. After that some more Omaguas arrived, they went in pursuit of them as far as a small river, and from there returned again to the Settlement. That night all the people slept partly within and partly around my house especially the children, which much stirred my feelings.

On the 2nd of November the Cammuris came a second time with intention of attacking us, but as they were perceived in time by some Omaguas that were going out to hunt, and also through having heard tolling all the preceding night for the souls of the departed, they turned back to their fastnesses without venturing to do anything. I, that we might not have any enemies so close at hand, went twice with an escort to their lands to see, if one could pacify them and make friends with them, but compunction for what they had intended, it appears, obliged them to forsake even their own lands since we found the houses empty, and in order that they might have no suspicion that we had gone out to wreak vengeance, we left some small presents of beads, knives, and necklaces within the same houses so that in returning to them, they might know that our purpose was not to do them harm. May it please God to open the way so that these unhappy people may also hear my preaching and seek their redemption.

From my Journal of this year 1696 I note the following for February. While I was making preparations to ascend to the Missions upstream, some Jurimagua Indians arrived at San Joaquim sent by their Chief begging me with great insistence to go down with them to their Settlements, because some Portuguese had again ascended in search of Cacao and Captives, and they were dreading lest they should carry them off as prisoners down the river, because the Chief had returned to them the iron goods that they had given as ransom for slaves, saying that the Father had forbidden them such wrongful traffic. So as not to fail such trust as these Indians reposed in me, who have no other source of help but the Father, immediately on the spot I resolved to go down to cheer them. I arrived this time at *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* on the 5th of March. Here I met three Taroma Indians from the Rio Negro sent by their Chief to see, as they say, the sons of the Father, and also to tell me how grateful they were remaining for the peace that I had made among them, when returning from Pará.

From there I went three days journey farther down, where

I met a Portuguese, Francisco Sosa by name, a peaceful man, who assured me that he had no other purpose than purchasing a little cacao, and that he would not do any the least injury to the Indians; and he acted according to his promise. He conveyed to me on this occasion some pieces of information, which if they hold good, might prove of much comfort to me, and they are that after my return from Pará, His Most Merciful King prohibited both raiding troops—*tropas de resgates*—and slaves, he only permitted that they should make captives of those, who had unjustly, without being provoked, killed a Portuguese; and in order that they should not be in want of serving people, he had commanded that they should bring to Pará slaves from Guinea and that they should be sold cheap. He also told me that they had made a fresh arrangement of the Missions as far as the Rio Negro; those of the Company were occupying the villages on the southern bank as far as the River Madeira; on the northern bank were the Capuchins, Mercenarians and Carmelites. The said Portuguese accompanied me as far as Aranaria, a settlement of the Aysuares opposite the river Jurua, without having had any special complaint of the Indians against him. I therefore thanked him for his good conduct and exhorted him to continue living as a Christian should, without allowing greed to blind him.

He was greatly astonished that the Indians showed so great affection for and confidence in me, since before my arrival they did not accord him the necessary supplies. He however in his anger had told them, that he would carry them off in bonds to Pará, and the Chief had given him no other reply than to say that he would go and complain to me, and also that among no Indians of other tribes have I observed, as among these, so great desire to have a Father and to be with him; for which we should give much praise to God, who has infused into them this desire so conclusive to their conversion. All of these Jurimaguas as well as Aysuares at every step say to me, we have no other Father, but you, you are our Lover—*Nuestro Amador*—we want you to be with us. They have also their jealousies and spites, saying one to

another, why do you behave so meanly to us in the regard to the Father in not allowing him to come down to our Settlement also? I, when now returning up the river, have left them with this consolation that I would as soon as possible call for other Fathers to assist in my place in the Settlements of the Omaguas, and would descend with one other companion to live with them. May it please God that my promises and hopes be not frustrated. I have likewise observed that these Indians listen with attention to the things of the Faith and show a desire to apprehend them, much to the reverse of the Omaguas, who while they are being catechized, amuse themselves and talk.

The opinion that these Indians hold of me, I take to be, because they think that I am a man of a different kind to the rest, and that I have not to die. Conversing with them concerning the things of the other life, and that we all have to die, an Aysuares Chief interrupted me, saying, "You have not to die, because, if you should die, who would be our Father, Lover and Protector." The earthquakes and eclipses, that there had been in these years, they attributed to me, saying with tears, that we caused the Father to kill the sun for us. Two hundred leagues lower down than San Joaquim, where I was staying, they sent me on a certain occasion some baskets of mandive flour, as a present, and the Chief gave a message to the Indian, who brought it, that he should beg the Father, that he would not eclipse the sun any more. I do not know, if ever in these lands there has been a like proof that God is opening out to us among these wretched people the salvation of their souls. May He send labourers into this harvest, that is already ripe.

The Jurimaguas here have also given me news, that they have received, of the murders of some Fathers of our Company in the Orinoco; the murderers have been some heathen Indians of the head-waters of the Rio Negro, called Caripunas with others that are called Guaranaguas; and now in this last ascent there came with me an Indian as far as San Joaquim, who had gone as far as these Guaranaguas, from whence in a few days by land they enter the Orinoco. But

of these remote savages towards the Orinoco they tell me that already they are not going to kill any more; and although they have neither seen nor heard me, from that which certain tribes relate to others with whom they trade of that which I preach here, they say, that already they believe my words.

This is the news that I received in this visit of mine to the Jurimaguas and Aysuares. On the 28th of March I departed upstream accompanied by many Jurimaguas, who came voluntarily rowing for more than forty days without wishing to leave my side. In this ascent to San Joaquim voyaging through the Omagua province I met in two halting-places some Indians, heathens, who are called Guareicus, whose chief seat is close to the river Jatay. They are a peaceful people and already some years ago I established friendly relations with them, but through lack of Fathers they have not gone to a Settlement. Now another time I regaled them with presents that I also handed to the principal Chief, encouraging them to come out of the forest to reside on the bank of the river. At every step we meet traces of other heathen tribes that live inland; and it would not have been difficult for anyone, who enterprized so great a harvest, to make friends with them.

On the 14th of May I arrived at San Joaquim, where I stayed until Corpus, instructing and confessing those who had not yet been received into the Church. From there during the month of July I ascended to this Settlement of Xeberos to fabricate some iron tools. I shall remain there until September, and at the end of that month or beginning of October, I shall set out, please God, on my return down-stream to my Mission.

§ V

Journal of Father Samuel Fritz, *in which he relates that which took place in this Mission from the year* 1697 *to the year* 1703

Having given an account of the year 1697 to the Father Superior Gaspar Vidal Catalan of the state of my Mission in regard not only to the Portuguese, but also of some disturbances that arose among the Omaguas without my being able to appease them, he thought it well that I should take with me an officer and some soldiers to visit those provinces. The officer selected for this enterprise was Dr Monso de Borja, a man much experienced in suchlike functions. I arrived with the little convoy at San Joaquim the beginning of November, and from there we pass on to Guadelupe and San Pablo, from whence we return in the middle of January, the rest of the Omaguas not failing to be frightened, as they are very much afraid of Spanish people, but everything was most peacefully quieted. Contenting myself this time that the culprits should promise amendment, the officer wished to enter also with some soldiers and friendly Indians the land of the Pevas, Cammuris and Ticunas, which was not without advantage. But the Pevas, who for a whim had withdrawn a little before from San Joaquim, returned to the Settlement. The Cammuris, who had previously been enemies, being terrified at the noise of the muskets undertook from that time forward to be our friends; and a few days afterwards two of them came of their own accord to see me, saying that many others would have come had not the Tepuetini swollen, which is a stream that empties into the Veruai, and is a way of approach to these lands. The Ticunas, who live within the forest almost opposite San Pablo, did the same. On the 24th of January the convoy again went upstream. With this opportunity I despatched a letter to the Lord Viceroy of Lima, in which I beg him to order the Governor of Maynas, that such visits should be carried out here every two years, or whenever the Missionary might think good, in order to re-

tain in subjection the Indians recently converted; but at the same time I beg him to provide that the soldiers come with their wages paid from the Royal Treasury, so that they should not attempt to carry off natives for their service in payment for the toil that they have in these duties.

In the month of February the greater part of the Pevas once more betook themselves to their retreats. They appear of a bad disposition, since all possible means have been tried with them to convert them by kindness, presents, and by the sternness of the Spaniards, but no progress has been made, since the wild beasts themselves are more quickly tamed. In their retreats they kill and destroy one another for the iron goods that they have received of me, or have carried off by theft from the Omaguas. Notwithstanding that I had not had any special news of the state of the Jurimaguas, nevertheless being fearful lest they should have fallen into some trouble, I determined to descend to talk with them.

In accordance with what I had done in previous years, I started from San Joaquim on the 9th of April and arrived at *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* of the Jurimaguas on the 16th of the same month, mostly voyaging by night. In San Pablo they informed me, how the Ticunas, who had to the Spanish troop declared themselves friendly, were giving proofs of not being willing to continue their friendship, since after having disinterred a Pano Indian who had been left dead in a skirmish, they had extracted his molar-teeth for their necklaces, and of his shin bones had made flutes, dancing round the head. Also they had now killed the daughter of the Omagua Chief of Guacarate, whom they had held captive from girlhood, saying that they were putting her to death because her father had given information about them and their lands to the Spaniards.

Having arrived at the Jurimaguas they immediately informed me, how in San Ignacio of the Aysuares there was a Portuguese Captain with some soldiers, whose intention was to ascend still higher. On the following day I went down to meet them, and in the said settlement I encountered an officer, named Joseph Antunes de Fonseca, six soldiers and the Pro-

vincial of the shod-Carmelites, Fr. Manuel de la Esperança, with another Religious, who told me, they had come to take possession of those Settlements by order of their Governor, and on petition of the Indians themselves. I was surprised that they should say they had come on petition of the Indians, since I was certain that these loathed nothing more than being subject to the Portuguese, from whom they had received, and receive, every day very great injuries. Afterwards I knew that they had ascended a little before as far as the Rio Negro, and the Governor Antonio de Albuquerque, called for the Chiefs of the Jurimaguas and Ybanomas, and that one of them named Marimavana having come up at his call he asked him whether he wished to have a Father. The Indian replied that he had already a Father, he who was up among the Omaguas and came down from time to time to see them. The Governor on this replied, "If your Father is not continually with you, it is a sign that he does not care for you. I will give you a Father to serve you, and who will not leave you"; and this was the reason for the Friar saying that he had come on petition of the Indians themselves. I replied to them that for eight years and more I had been in peaceful possession of that Mission on behalf of the Crown of Castile, and had formed into Mission Settlements a large part of these heathen Indians, when some were wandering as fugitives through the woods and others were living in concealment near the lagoons, because of the murders and enslavements that they had formerly endured from those of Pará; where I myself, when I was in that city, saw many slaves from those tribes. More than that I was assured by letters that I received from Lisbon that it is not the intention of the King of Portugal to despoil me of that Mission and that only through seeing me without a military escort was the Governor, and they also, encouraged to use such violence towards me. Notwithstanding this my protest, the said Provincial in that Settlement, as likewise in that of the Jurimaguas, whither he ascended with me, sought authoritatively and with threats of force to hinder me from praying with the people, even from celebrating mass in the Chapel that I myself had built. On

which with the respectful firmness that the circumstances of the case admitted, I replied to him, saying that such a mode of procedure with a minister of Christ was not fitting in a Prelate of Religion so illustrious, whether he were Greek, English or Dutch. He recognized his error and restraining himself to my edification asked pardon of me, and allowed me to celebrate.

After this I intimated to the chief of the escort, that although, without any controversy these lands with all the rest as far as Pará belonged to the Crown of Castile, notwithstanding this we ought to be content to leave each one in his own Mission, until the question should be brought to the knowledge of the Kings themselves. The said officer apparently yielded in the matter and only asked me to do him the pleasure that we should depart both together from that Settlement, they down, and I upstream; and that no one was in future to ascend as far up as the Omagua province. I to avoid greater scandals gave my consent to this, protesting that it was in no wise my intention to settle boundaries between the two Crowns, and so on their departure from there I would return to missionarize my people as before. At last on the 23rd we all set out from that Settlement, the Portuguese down the river, I giving a turn without losing sight of the houses returned to the harbour, and proceeded with the instruction of my neophytes until the 30th, when I journeyed once more up the river. In these days a Chief from below, named Sivematine, came to see me, to whom the Portuguese had given iron-goods and other trinkets to find captives for them, threatening him that if he did not make up the number of prisoners before they went to Pará, they would carry him and all his people in fetters down with them. They told me also, how to content them he had made an incursion into the Yufilas tribe, and that there in a skirmish had slain ten of his most valiant Indians. Other Chiefs told me other similar and very lamentable things, for which cause all remained gladly with me [declaring] that they would as soon as possible follow me with all their people to settle farther up than the province of the Omaguas, leaving these lands unpeopled, so

that the Portuguese might not be able to follow them with so much ease. On my return up the river to San Joaquim I knew from what some Jurimaguas told me, that the chief intent of the Captain and the Carmelite Friars had been to ascend as far as the shore of the Caivisanas, that they call Canaria, for the purpose of erecting there a new fortress, and with this to make themselves masters of these provinces.

On the 13th of June I arrived at my residence of San Joaquim, where nothing happened that was notable until the month of December, in which I was comforted by the arrival in my Mission of two new workers lately arrived from Europe; both of them my countrymen of the province of Bohemia. These were Father Wenceslas Breyer and Father Francisco Vidra; the one went below to minister there in the conversion of Guadelupe, and the other remained as my companion.

The year 1698. At the end of January of this year Mativa, the principal Chief of the Jurimaguas, having come from his lands to see me, told me that his people together with the Aysuares and the Ybanomas would have come, as soon as possible, upstream to settle near San Joaquim, if the Omaguas had not told them that the Spaniards were waiting for them to make them slaves in the same manner as the Portuguese had done there below, and that besides this they themselves ran the risk of destruction in thus daring to move up the river, since they did not wish to be the first against whom from this time forward the Portuguese would bear a grudge.

Notwithstanding this the said Mativa promised me, that as soon as possible he with his family would come to live with me, even though none of the rest should wish to follow him. On hearing this my mind was at once set on going down to undeceive these poor people, and to convey them up the river. When preparing for this, I received a letter from the Father Superior, who invited me to go to him accompanied by some valiant Omaguas, for the chastisement of the Cunibos and Piris of the river Ucayali, who had treacherously murdered Father Henrique Richter, and were threatening to make a descent to the Marañon to kill us all. Although the Omaguas were very reluctant, nevertheless having collected

some of them at the beginning of May, I journeyed to the Ucayali, where a letter of the same Superior met me; in which he told me that instead of ascending for chastisement I should go to La Laguna to assist in that Settlement until his return. On this I returned at once to San Joaquim to arrange for my voyage to La Laguna.

Here I found new motives for delay, because Father Vidra, who was assisting in Guadelupe, had his suspicions that the Indians were wishing to take his life. Either this may have been the effect of a strong apprehension of the same Father in finding himself alone in that lonely spot surrounded by Heathens, or these same Indians may have given a cause for it, the which I could not then verify; so I had on the chance to go down in person to bring him to San Joaquim.

On the 30th of June the Marañon became very turbid, bringing down very much mud; and this lasted for a space of seven days. I discussed whether there had been any tornado up the river. Afterward I learnt by letters from Quito that it had been caused by a fearful earthquake that on the 20th destroyed the inhabitants of Hambate and Jucunga; a river of mud descending from a volcano named Carruiraso that by Pastaza travelled as far as the Marañon.

Finally on the 6th of August I embarked for La Laguna in compliance with the order of the Father Superior, and I arrived there the 1st day of September, where after a few days the said Superior came with the remnants of the unfortunate troop, which had gone to chastise the Cunibos. There perished in that undertaking, by the bad management of the Captain Dr Diego de Arinas, nineteen Spaniards and seventy-seven Indians; leaving the Heathens masters of the field. It is not easy to express the weeping and cries of the whole Settlement, lamenting the death, some of a father, others of a brother, others of a son, others of a husband, so that, in order to console them all, I had to be left in this Settlement until the end of December; since the Father Superior had gone up to Loja and Quito to see the Governor and the Superiors of the Provinces for the purpose of treating various affairs concerning the Mission.

Year 1699. As the Omaguas were very disturbed and the two Fathers that I had left in San Joaquim had come up hastily being afraid of some treachery, I saw myself compelled to go down there to see, if one could appease that commotion, and thoroughly discover its source. I found it had not been only a suspicion of the Fathers from which they sought to remove themselves, but was in reality the faults of some Indians, who naturally proud were estranged by subjection and chastisements. They were desirous of keeping up certain customs heathen and contrary to Christianity, and, as the Fathers carried away by their zeal were wishing to correct effectively this abuse, the Indians hastily came to spread about certain confused reports, that they would kill them, to see if they could thus frighten them, just as they had done also many times with me. I found indeed that an Indian with the blow of a club had broken in pieces the box of the Church jewels and profaned some sacred images, but as soon as I arrived, he came with his mother very compunctious to beg my pardon, saying that he did not know what he was doing through having taken much *curupa* so that he had been deprived of the use of his senses. I admitted the excuse, so that there should not be a fresh disturbance, and much more because I noticed that he had not even quite recovered his sight. I summoned afterwards for examination the principal men of Guadelupe, and having charged them with what had taken place with the Father, they replied that there had not been anything more than the shouting that they were accustomed to indulge in even in my presence, when they wished to be merry; as likewise the custom they had of painting themselves and carrying their arms, when they met in any house to drink or imbibe *curupa*.

I stayed in San Joaquim the rest of the year, teaching the people and serving the Church without anything new happening. That which caused me noteworthy dissatisfaction was the not being able to go down and visit my Jurimaguas, as I could not absent myself from the up-river Missions, that the Father Superior had left in my charge.

The year 1700. At the beginning of this year the Chieftain

of the Aysuares, named Aranaria, came up to see me being sent by Mativa, Chieftain of the Jurimaguas (who for some reason did not come). They related how at the end of June 1698, there also the Marañon had been very muddy and turbid; and that the general persuasion of the Indians had been, that I had made the water turbid as a sign of my vexation that they had not come to live here higher up the river, as they had promised me. In March other seven Jurimaguas ascended to see me likewise sent by Mativa; who begged me to go down at once to his lands to conduct them up the river, for they could not endure the Portuguese any longer, who amongst other injuries had destroyed almost all their sustenance, therefore he was sending me, as a present, a basket of flour as a token of affection. I promised them that as soon as the Father Superior arrived, I would immediately descend with an escort of some Spaniards to help them. These poor people break my heart every time that they come to see me, and tell me of their troubles.

On the 21st of August when awaiting the Father Superior with some escort, wherewith to descend and succour the Jurimaguas, I received a letter from the same in which he bids me to go up once more to La Laguna to pass to Quito to bring missionaries and the annual succour. Hastily putting on one side every impediment, I started at once and arrived at La Laguna on the 9th of September.

On the 24th God sought to console me with a very favourable piece of news that some Omagua Indians brought me in a letter from Father Wenceslas; and it was, that a little after my departure from San Joaquim, there arrived at this Settlement flying from the claws of the Portuguese many Jurimaguas in more than 25 canoes, and that the rest were on their way upstream in company with the Aysuares. Immediately I received this news with leave of the Father Superior I went down to receive them, having sent forward to collect as much maize and yuca, as possible, for their sustenance, and cloth for dress, since the most were going in a state of nudity. I met them some distance below the mouth of the river Napo where they had already made some cultivated

plots for living. I consoled them, and gave what I could to those who had stayed behind, so that they should not turn back through hunger and the hardships of the journey. I sent also some store of provisions, and my cross as a sign that it was false, what the Omaguas told them to frighten them. Among many other grievous occurrences which the Chieftain Mativa related to me, one was that having killed a Chief of the Ybanomas, called Airiparu, the Carmelite Friar, that had possessed himself of that Settlement, had seized all the women and children of that district, and having embarked them in a large canoe had sent them to Pará to be sold. On seeking to fetter the men that he had in his canoe, they began to cry out, and hearing their shouts, the Gauyupes, who lived close to them, had killed there the Friar with cudgels and the servants that accompanied him. They tell me also how another Friar in April had come to see them in the Settlement of *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes* with intention of carrying it away downstream with all the people, for which purpose he brought in the canoe a large set of stocks with many hand-cuffs, but they had escaped from that danger by telling him that he should leave them still for a couple of months until the great inundation subsided, and they could get at the decayed mandive, which was lying below the water. On this the Friar had returned down-the-river, and they having provisioned themselves the best that they could, had voyaged in all haste up-stream.

On the 20th of November having handed over the charge of these poor folk to Father Wenceslas, I set forth on my journey to Quito by the river Napo, I arrived at the first port, that is called Santa Rosa, and the Settlement of Indians, Napos, Sucumbrios and Oas the 22nd of December, having spent from the mouth of the Napo twenty-nine days of continuous navigation; here I stayed four days, as it was the Festival of the Nativity. From there I went up with sufficient peril to the Settlement of Napo, where I passed other ten days.

The year 1701. On the eighth of January I left for Archidona; on the 11th for Quito, where I arrived on the 22nd.

I do not relate here the days marches and the hardships of this journey, for they are well known. On entering into Quito I saw myself suddenly surrounded by a heap of people, that kept gazing and gazing again at my Indians, and begging for my blessing. The same happened on my going in to see the President and the Bishop.

On the 29th of March, Dr Sancho de Figueira, who was the Bishop, with much kindness and affection to me now confirmed my Indians. There were twenty-three, the Lord President and other of the great people of the place serving them as sponsors. They supplied their godchildren with very rich garments; the whole city assisting at this function.

The same day I fell ill with a violent fever, which reduced me to the last extremity without hope of life, but at last God was pleased that my health should return, and strength to go back to my Mission. That which I negotiated while in Quito was, besides some alms, a decree of the Royal Audiencia in which orders were given to the Governor of Maynas, that he should send every year a troop of inspection to the lower Missions for the protection of the Missionaries, and the correction of the Indians who had been to blame. I set out from Quito on the 18th of May taking with me the Father Juan Baptista Sanna, whom the Superior had destined for the Settlement of La Laguna, but God had destined him for the Omaguas to work here gloriously in that Mission.

Through the difficulties encountered in the journey to Archidona we do not arrive at that city before the first day of July. On the 10th we pass the Port of Napo; on the 22nd that of Santa Rosa; on the 25th we embark in 6 canoes with the necessary provision and goods for the Mission. On the same day at three in the afternoon we pass the mouth of the river Aunu; at sunset that of the stream Payanimo; then that of the Coca. We passed the night on an island, where the Xexenes worried us much, which are very minute mosquitos. A league higher up than the junction of the Coca with the Napo the rocks come to an end and there are many islands. After mid-day on the 26th we pass in the neighbourhood of Capucuy, that is full ten leagues to the East,

with abundance of fish. We camp for the night on an Island.

On the 27th we pass the Island in the form of a little hill, called Tiriri, celebrated for the rumblings that it is wont to give from time to time. On the 28th about 9 o'clock we pass the stream by which one goes to the Omaguas, that there are called Arianas. At five in the afternoon we camp on a sand-bank almost opposite the river Abacuri. This night one heard the beating of drums by the Arianas on the western bank. On the 30th at early morning we arrive at the dwelling of some Christian fugitives that are called Great Rumos, only seven souls that resolved to descend with me to the Marañon, so as to live as Christians. We stay there about two days awaiting another Indian that had gone to see some heathen people, called Iquiavates. As the said Indian did not appear, on the 1st of August we go forward. On the following day the Indian did not succeed in reaching us. The Iquiavates that were in his company, as soon as they saw our canoes in the distance, leaving their own suddenly betook themselves to the woods.

We stay at night on a sand-bank, three leagues below the principal mouth of the river Cururay. On the 3rd we proceed on our way. On the 4th after midday we pass the lake, Tocamuri. On the 5th we arrive close to the Marañon. On the 6th at dawn we reach the Marañon and at three leagues lower down at the New Settlement of the Jurimaguas, who received us with much gladness. From there we proceed to San Joaquim, where I found the Father, who had remained in my absence and was very grieved for the misdeeds that the Omaguas had meanwhile been guilty of, through which I saw myself obliged to send a despatch to Borja, begging the lieutenant to come down as soon as possible with some soldiers to visit that Province in accordance with the Royal Decree that I had brought from Quito. On the 25th of August the little fleet arrived at San Joaquim with 20 Spaniards and more than 200 Indians from the upper river. The officer in command was the lieutenant Antonio Manrique with the Father Pedro Servela for Chaplain. As soon as they arrived,

enquiry was made concerning the rising that they [the Indians] had planned; and it was ascertained that the principal Chief, named Payoreva, with his confederates had invited the Cammuris and Pevas, who were heathen, to come suddenly and set fire to the Church and house of the Father, and that they should be ready to kill him with their clubs should he come forth alive from the conflagration; and they would do the same for the Indians, that were on his side. It was not the Will of God that they should carry out this misdeed; the lieutenant intimidated the heathens and having verified the facts ordered the Chief, Payoreva, to be seized, and likewise Canuria, who was guilty of many other crimes.

After this we proceed with the troop to the Settlement of San Pablo, where many rebellious Omaguas had collected, and had invited the Ticunas with the intention of attacking us openly from the shore on which that Mission Settlement stands, and to slay us all. We arrive there on the 7th of September. The officer, knowing the intentions these people had, ordered the soldiers to ascend to the Settlement arms in hand; seeing which the rebels did not dare to attempt any thing, and a Ticuna Chief with all his people at once announced that he was a friend of the Spaniards. The officer ordered the heads of the mutiny to be seized; the punishment of some was flogging, of others banishment. While I was teaching the people in the Church, the officer likewise ordered the houses of the Indians to be searched one by one. They found in them among many other things human teeth placed in the belly of some small figures in the form of idols, many scrapers for painting the shoulders, and some pots of powdered *curupa* with which to deprive themselves of their senses, so as to carry out any evil deed without compunction. All this after Mass I ordered to be placed in a heap, and consumed with fire.

The insolence of these Indians having been punished in this manner, to prevent them from planning any further similar crimes, I returned again with the troop to the Settlement of San Joaquim. From here the lieutenant despatched some soldiers to the lands of the Ticunas, and others to those

of the Cautimares. The first returned without having encountered a trace of any people; the second brought to the Settlement about forty persons of that tribe. On the 5th of November all set out for Borja, taking as a prisoner amongst others the Chief Payoreva. Afterwards I knew that they had entered the Payaguas, where they carried away some interpreters. On the 17th of the same month there arrived at San Joaquim some Indians that I had sent down to spy the intentions of the Portuguese, and to convoy some Jurimaguas and Aysuares that had stayed behind, for there were some of these. Some arrived safe and sound; others ill. From the Napo, San Pablo I mean, they report to me of the Portuguese that they intend in three months to come up from here to erect a fortification in the mouth of the River Putumayo, and to draw away the Purianos.

The Year 1702. Payoreva, Head of the Rebels, having fled from Borja, arrived at the beginning of February at this Settlement of San Joaquim secretly, and having collected at night all the people, so great were the lies that he told them, that the greater part determined to abandon the Mission Station, and to withdraw to the river Urua. Within a few days I was left here with only ten Indians, who said that the rest had gone, flying with the intention of joining their heathen friends, and to destroy the Fathers and the Spaniards, if they should dare to come down to their lands. As I saw that it was not easy at that time to appease this outbreak, and that being without people the Cammuris might attack us, I resolved to go with the Church ornaments to the Mission Station of the Jurimaguas; every one can imagine with what feelings I saw myself obliged to abandon that which had cost me so much pains for 16 years. My Jurimaguas received me in part with much compassion, while others were very delighted to see me compelled to live in their Settlement, which was what they were so eagerly desiring.

Here I remained until the end of March, occupying myself in teaching. It was at this time that a Carmelite Friar named Fr. Juan de Guillerme paid me a visit, who told me that he came by order of his Provincial to negociate that once more

the Jurimaguas and Aysuares that were with me should return downstream to their lands. I undeceived the good Religious, representing to him that the Portuguese had no jurisdiction whatever over those Indians, that they were free and had come up the river to be with me, who had given them the first news of the Faith of Christ. The Religious pretended to be satisfied, and without further insistence determined to return to Pará. I however moved by an inward impulse resolved to descend in his company in search of the fugitive Omaguas. On the 25th of March we set out together from Jurimaguas. On the 28th we arrive at Guadelupe, where I met some of the fugitives, who promised me they would return as soon as possible to the Settlement. The same happened with those at San Pablo, where we arrive on the 29th. Here I learnt how the Portuguese, Leandro and Ambrosio Ornela, who have ascended so far in company with the Friar, while he went on to Jurimaguas, entering with armed hand among Caivisanas and Guareicos, already friendly and that were on the point of settling, had taken some prisoners, and had killed others, because they refused to allow themselves to be fettered. I protested against such acts of violence opposed to every law, praying the Religious to try and prevent them from this time forward. On the 30th I arrived at Ibarate where I met Payoreva with the rest of the fugitives. I spoke to them affectionately, and persuaded them to return, promising Payoreva that the Spaniards would not again imprison him, if he would give proofs of amendment, but as he is of such a bad disposition, I have great doubts if he will profit by my counsels.

The Friar told me he would like to send him in fetters to Pará, because he had made an attempt against his life also in San Pablo. From there I came back to San Joaquim with the greater part of the fugitives, giving great thanks to God that I had safely accomplished this journey of mine, which many held to be full of peril for me.

On my return to San Joaquim, as some Jurimaguas and Aysuares, that had remained scattered in the Settlements below, did not put in an appearance, I determined again to

descend to their lands. I set out from San Joaquim on the 14th of May. In my voyage I went into all parts conversing with and counselling the Omaguas not to believe the lies and threats of Payoreva, who was still a rebel.

As to the Aysuares I found some of them in Joete; others in Quar; others at Taiarute. All promised me, that they would go up with me on my return. On the 27th I arrived at Zuruite, a Settlement of the Aysuares, where I again met the Friar Guillerme, who invited me to another Settlement one day lower down, where he at present resides, telling me that there we would have an amicable conference with other two Religious, and some Portuguese that were awaiting me outside the limits of these my Missions. I went down on the 30th and was received with much honour and kindliness. Here I repeated in writing my protest that these lands without controversy belonged to the Crown of Castile. I returned to them the iron and other goods that Leandro Ornela and others his companions had distributed among the Omaguas, in order that they should seek out slaves for them among the heathen. I represented to them how that this is contrary to all law, for being in a foreign dominion it would both be an occasion of just wars and likewise destruction of life among those Indians. I concluded by begging them to desist from ascending upwards until the question should be determined in the Cortes, and limits defined between the two Crowns. This they promised me that they would do. But scarcely have I returned to Zuruite, when a tonsured Religious named Fr. Antonio de Andrade, a companion of Fr. Guillerme, went with some soldiers on my heels, and attacking with fury one of my canoes, took a Chief prisoner, that was going upstream with me. However afterwards the following day he returned to deliver him up to me, contenting himself with uttering a thousand threats against me and my poor catechumens, that he would carry us all laden with fetters to Gran Pará.

On my return journey to San Joaquim I visited the Ticunas of Tavarate on the river Jeme. The Chief Yrimara received me with signs of friendship, and promised me that he would persuade his people to settle in a favourable spot. About

mid-August I arrived at the new Settlement of the Jurimaguas having spent on this journey about three months.

§ VI

A brief account is given of what happened in the years 1703–1704–1705–1706–1707

Here we are obliged to interrupt the Journal of Father Samuel, since the notes that he made during these five years, until the return of the said Father from Quito to Archidona in the year 1707, together with other important papers, were lost in the river Caudache. That which can be gathered from the letters of other contemporary missionaries is, that Father Samuel having been in the year 1704 appointed Superior of the whole Mission, the Provincial Father Juan de Tavan substituted in his place in the Mission of the Omaguas and Jurimaguas Father Juan Baptista Sanna, a native of Sardinia, who by the efficiency of his zeal ended in collecting and pacifying the fugitive Omaguas, except Payoreva who, either as a prisoner or by his own choice, went to Pará. He collected a part of the Cammuris founding for them a Settlement in the neighbourhood of San Joaquim under the patronage of the Patriarch San Joseph. He made friends with the Mayorunas and above all with great firmness he protected his Mission against the artifices of the Coronist Fr. Antonio de Andrade, who, with a military vigour little in accordance with his condition, being placed in command of some Mamelukes, tried repeatedly to make himself master of all Omagua.

Father Samuel at the same time, with the power that he had as Superior, visited the said Mission many times in these years. As being the chief object of his cares he encouraged, as much as he could, the Apostolical efforts of Father Sanna, and made various representations to Pará, Quito, Lima, Madrid and Rome with the aim of quickening the zeal of the Kings and Superiors to pay the utmost regard to the work of conversion and enlargement of a Mission of such prospects; and finally as he saw that one of the chief causes of their

backwardness was lack of workers, one alone not being sufficient for such an extensive field, he determined to go up a second time to Quito, to beg for Missionaries, notwithstanding that the attacks of illness contracted in so many and such trying wanderings kept him in a very prostrate condition.

He set out from Santiago de la Laguna, the head-centre of the Mission, at the beginning of November, 1706, with 40 Indians of different Mission Stations, and arrived at the Supreme College of Quito the 21st day of January, 1707, quite broken and in such feeble health, that the physicians judged that there was danger in such a trying life, and that he should take rest in some college, unless he wished to end his days as quickly as he could. But though the zeal of Father Samuel was obliged to assent to some such proposal, scarcely had he arrived at Quito than it was arranged with the Superiors that they should grant him a sufficient number of comrades from those, serving in the Province, who displayed the greatest inclination to take part in this Ministry, to return with him as soon as possible to his beloved Missions. Father Luis de Andrade, a native of Lima, who was Provincial at that time, granted him ten comrades notwithstanding that the Province was very short of servants. These were the Fathers Pedro Servela, Juan de Soldariega, Joseph Ximenes, Andres Cobos, Guillerme Detre, Pedro Bollarte, Gregorio Bobadilla, Matthias Lasso, Pedro de Campos, and Domingo Perez. The good Father Samuel could not contain his joy at seeing himself placed at the head of such an Apostolic squadron. There was henceforth a promise of great progress, and he was engaged in making arrangements for his journey, having already sent forward four of his companions to Archidona, when God for the greater trial of his patience again prostrated him in bed with a violent fever, that continued for about a month. Having by the special providence of God recovered his health, when but half convalescent he set out on his way with the rest of his companions at the end of May, that is in the most trying time for traversing the Cordillera, for the continual rainfall and the flooding of the rivers rendered the

passage well-nigh impossible. Amidst other toils that he endured before arriving at Archidona, one was that in crossing a river named Caudache, the current having borne away the Indian who carried on his shoulders a small box with the breviary and part of the papers of the Father, it was then that the notes of the Father concerning the events of these last years were lost. After a thousand calamities and hardships, at last on the 22nd of July, 1707, all the ten Missionaries with their Superior Father Samuel met at Puerto del Napo so that from there they embarked and continued their route to the river Marañon. From this point we return however to follow the Journal of the Father.

§ VII

Here proceeds the Journal of Father Samuel *to the year* 1723

The year 1707. On the 5th of August we start from Napo, *i.e.* the five Fathers, and pass successfully the bad reaches that there are as far as Santa Rosa. At this place the canoes having been caulked and the necessary stores provided we again embark on the 11th. In crossing the gravel bank one of the canoes in front, in which the Fathers Andres Cobos and Matthias were travelling, such was the force of the current that in spite of the rowers it carried it into the dangerous passage, called the Judas, and firstly the succession of waves filled it with water, and then in the sight of all capsized it. Thus was lost all that was being carried in the canoe, but the Fathers by the special Providence of God escaped, by climbing up on to the bottom of the capsized canoe. In this manner aided by the Indians, who hastened to the spot in their little canoes to our aid, they reached the gravel bank; and there we remain this day and night giving thanks to God for everything, especially the two Fathers, who to the great edification of the rest did not exhibit any grief at the loss that they had sustained of their poor little baggage, rather showing much resignation and cheerfulness.

From there we progressed happily and without event of note during our course as far as about Curoray, where we come across a small canoe of heathen natives, Hicahnates, to whom we give a kindly reception and invite that they with their *Curaca* should come to visit us in the Settlement of the Jurimaguas so as to encourage them to settle. On the 27th we bring all in health to the Mission Station of the Jurimaguas in the neighbourhood of Napo, where the Missionary, Father Juan Baptista Sanna, received us with very great joy at the arrival of so many workers. I was very glad to see the Settlement enriched by a new Church, and in it a new and very beautiful statue of Santa Maria the Greater, made by hand by a Portuguese, Manuel de Silva, who had sought retreat there. On the 4th of September we celebrate a solemn festival, carrying in procession the statue of the Virgin, with general rejoicing. A few days before there had come from some way below the mouth of the Jupura to seek refuge with the Father Missionary some Ybanoma Indians, fugitives from the power of the Portuguese. The same day at the conclusion of the festival there arrived a Portuguese Captain, named Ignacio Correa, in quest of the said Indians. He did not find them for they were hidden near a lagoon, and so he was very ill-contented. He returned downstream the following day.

On the 9th leaving 4 Fathers in the company of Father Sanna to distribute them among the Settlements of the Omaguas, I with the rest ascended to the Settlement of La Laguna, where I arrived on the 30th. I found here no Missionary, since the Father Wenceslas Breyer, whom I had left in my place, had gone to Pastaza with the lieutenant and soldiers of Borja in pursuit of the Indians, Gaes, who in the Settlement of S. Xavier de Bobonaza had murdered the Father Nicolas Durago treacherously, and had retreated to the Cururay. Here I stayed for the rest of the year, making the necessary arrangements for the government of these Missions. On the 15th of November Father Wenceslas returned from Pastaza with favourable news concerning the re-establishment of the Settlement of S. Xavier with the

Andoas and some Semigaes that were not accomplices in the murder of the Father.

The year 1708. On the 15th of January Father Pedro Bollarte arrived at this Settlement from La Laguna, reporting the acts of violence that the Portuguese had done in the district of the Omaguas; and they are that on the 10th of December last past the Coronist Fr. Antonio de Andrade arrived at the Settlement of the Jurimaguas with a troop of eleven soldiers and a hundred Indians in quest of the Ybanomas. They entered the Settlement with their flags struck. They immediately despatched canoes as far as the Rio de la Coca. After a search of eight days they returned, and as they did not find any one, the Coronist ordered the Head of the troop, Joseph Pineiro, to attack at midnight the houses of the Jurimaguas. They seized our friends and carried away of them 18 families down the river with them, without the three Fathers, who were present, being able to hinder it. The Coronist said before them all, that it was I that he was seeking, and that, if any mischance should have happened, he had money to go to Rome and to treat for absolution. From the Province of the Omaguas they carried away for slaves with armed violence more than 100 persons; and these, with the exception of about two, were all Christians. With this news on the 24th of January I despatched to Quito the same Father Bollarte, so that he might, as an eyewitness, inform the Royal Audiencia about these acts of violence, and should ask for some remedy. On the 12th of February, the lieutenant of Borja arrived at this La Laguna to confer as to the steps to be taken in hand against the Portuguese, and he resolved after Easter to go down to the Omaguas with some soldiers and Indians of special trustworthiness. On the 11th of March Father Pedro Servela ascended to La Laguna to be cured from the pains and sleeplessness, from which he was suffering while amongst the Omaguas. He brought me letters from Father Xavier Marloves, a Bohemian by nation, a missionary of Pará, to whom I had written from Jurimaguas, on my return from Quito, that he might make representations to the Governor of that State for the prohibition of these violent

ascents of his people. He replied to me, that he would have undertaken this task, but that he had heard from the mouth of the Governor these words, "if these Missions are authorized by King Carlos III everything will be settled peaceably, but if they belong to the party of the Gavachos [Basques] let us enlarge our territory as far as possible." While waiting for a reply from Quito I set out to visit the Settlement up the river, in which I passed some months engaged in confessing the people. On the 24th of November Father Bollarte arrived on his return from Quito with the news that the Royal Audiencia in conformity with a rescript they had received from Spain had determined to despatch a hundred men with an officer to dislodge the Portuguese; a task I consider very difficult to execute.

The year 1709. On the first of March there came a despatch from Omaguas in which the Fathers wrote that a troop of Portuguese are coming up by order of their King, and that the commander, Ignacio Correa, who preceded, on the 1st day of February gave notice to Father Juan Baptista Sanna to retire, he and the rest of the Missionaries of the Marañon and Napo, since all this as far as the Port of Santa Rosa belongs to the Crown of Portugal by the possession that they say was taken in the time of Teixeira, and added that unless they retired within the limit signified they would carry the Fathers prisoners to Pará, and from there they would be sent to Lisbon. I despatched this news by Cabapamas to the Lieutenant of Borja, so that he might go down as quickly as possible to give aid to this district. Joseph de Cantos I despatched with four canoes down the river to bring the Fathers from there so that they should not be carried to Pará, if the Portuguese persisted in their pretension. I wrote to the commanding officer, Ignacio Correa, that he should desist from such an unjust enterprize, until a reply should come from his King, to whom I transmit a letter. The paper that I sent to the officer ran thus:

Señor, I am surprised and distressed at the coming of this Portuguese troop and at the manner in which it has come to these our Missions with disturbance and armed

violence, giving notice on your part to the Fathers that within two months they should withdraw from all Omagua and the river Napo, and unless this were done, they would be carried away prisoners to Pará and from there be despatched to Lisbon. Gracious God! is it to this that Portuguese Christianity has arrived to oppress and carry away by violence our toil and labour of so many years for Christ, without taking any account of the Pontifical Excommunication. You say that you are doing it by order of your King, because these lands are Portuguese, contrary to what is said in the treaty printed in Lisbon regarding the matter of the Colony of Sacramento in the year 1681, as far as I remember. And I saw it in Pará, wherein is mentioned also this River of the Amazons, and to this effect that it appertains to them, they say, four degrees and two-thirds from its mouth. With what conscience or right then do they seek as their own some forty degrees that there are from the mouth of this Amazon up to Napo. Let them inform their King, as they ought in truth, that he should not direct nor seek with such acts of injustice to extend his jurisdiction, and if a few years ago he ordered that they should withdraw from the lower part of these our Missions, it is because of the wars in Spain. Here there has been neither cause nor motive of any kind to come with armed violence against the Fathers of Jesus Christ, for when their Company has gained these Missions with His Holy Gospel, teaching them and having maintained them in peaceful possession without any controversy or injury to the Portuguese dominion. You say further, that they [the Portuguese] have taken possession, when they in former days descended from Quito in the year 1639. Let them in the first place see in the Journal of Padre Christoval de Acuña, where they took it; that it is not the river Napo nor any part of the province of Omagua, but much lower down where in a Settlement they obtained by barter some small plates of gold and which they named *Aldea de Oro*. In the second place they know well that no Governor nor Viceroy can give lands to another Crown, but only the King. This possession Philip IV neither gave it nor confirmed it, but when they took it, already

Portugal had separated itself from the Crown of Spain, and consequently it is illegitimate and null. Wherefore I give you and all the troop warning to desist from such an unjust enterprize and to return down the river, leaving our Missions untouched, begging you to despatch first of all this my letter to His Majesty of Portugal; otherwise you may rest assured that you will not escape the wrath of God and His Omnipotent Hand. As to the Fathers I admonish you in the name of the Living God, if in the end you should not choose to desist from this unjust enterprize, to deposit them in safety with their [Church] ornaments either here or in the Puerto de Napo, giving them canoes, rowers and the necessary sustenance, seeing that this has been done even in the wars in Hungary.

SAMUEL FRITZ.

With the arrival of Father Matthias Lasso at this Laguna, which was the 30th of March, I learnt how five days before the arrival of the Portuguese at the Settlement of Jurimaguas the Fathers sent away all the people to the lake of Jurapa. The Portuguese came, and as they did not find any people, some went to search for them and most of them returned from Jurapa to the Settlement. From thence they carried away the greater part as prisoners downstream, leaving the Fathers with only a few Icahuates boys.

On the 19th Father Pedro Bollarte arrived with the ornaments of the Church of San Joaquim, and the statue of Santa Maria Maior of the Jurimaguas. Some of the captives, they tell me, on the descent escaped from the claws of the Portuguese, and are on their way up. Father Sanna remains still in San Joaquim. I wrote on no account to abandon that Mission. On the 23rd of June the lieutenant of Borja, Don Balthazar de Rioja, with sixteen men arrived at Laguna; on the 30th Father Andres Cobos bringing the Jurimaguas, who had escaped from the Portuguese. As these were passing close to San Joaquim, a great tempest compelled them to take refuge in that Settlement, where the majority of the Indians hid themselves, and now little by little they are going up with intention of settling in Guallaga, in the old Settlement of

Cocamillas. On the 3rd of July the Captain Don Fernando Saldaña arrived with the soldiers of Moyobamba and Indians from the district of Xeberos.

On the 8th we set out from San Joaquim, Father Cobos and I, the two officers above-mentioned, about 40 soldiers and a considerable number of Indians. The principal object was to protect the fugitive Indians, and also to give assurance to the Tiguianbates, who had recently become friendly and been baptized, by transporting them higher up. On the 12th near to Jurapa I received a letter from Captain Don Luis Itubirbe, the chief officer by appointment of the Audiencia of Quito of this expedition, who told me, how on the 4th of this month he arrived at the Settlement, formerly that of the Jurimaguas, with another officer Don Antonio Oviedo and 50 soldiers from Quito. To those of Borja I despatched a summons that all of them should come down to fight the Portuguese, on pain of death as traitors to the King. On the 16th close to the said Settlement of Jurimaguas I met the despatch, that I had sent to the officer of the troop for Quito. I added a letter of mine for the Father Provincial, in which I informed him of my descent and wrote to him, that even were the Portuguese now dislodged, unless a force were left on guard, the whole Mission would undoubtedly be destroyed.

On the 17th we arrive at San Joaquim, where we find the soldiers from Quito, for the most part worthless folk; intolerable for their disputes, pilferings and other misdeeds, without discipline or knowledge of handling arms; those that they have are some very inferior arquebuses, and through one of their rafts, in which they were coming, upsetting in Napo, some are come without arms, and they have not brought more than four or five swords. Such being the case, unless God grant some remedy, what hope can there be of making any progress. On the 22nd the officer sent forward four soldiers; three to explore the river for a day and a half from here for a provision of fish; the one in San Pablo to prevent any Indian going down and giving information to the Portuguese of the coming of the Spaniards. On the 25th the troop set out down the river from San Joaquim, Father

Sanna and I went in its company. We proceed without stopping at the Settlements that the Omaguas have left, except what was necessary for the supply of food, so that we might escape notice. On the 5th of August we arrive at San Pedro de Cafuri, the last but one of the Settlements of the Omaguas, when we meet a solitary Portuguese, this man the Captain took with him. On the 6th being already near a Papate of the Aysuares the Captain was of opinion that we, the two Fathers, should go forward so that the Carmelite Religious, who serves there, should not be alarmed by the arrival of the whole troop. We arrive at sunset, and meet another Portuguese with Fr. Juan de Luz, who received us with the ringing of bells. I sprang to land and called the people together and sang a hymn of praise in the Chapel. Here I found the greater part of the Jurimaguas that the Portuguese had carried off with them. On coming out from the Chapel, when the Religious saw a soldier of our company with match burning, he became so enraged, that he tore his beard in his passion, crying out that no one but himself was in command there, and wishing to send down the river for the Portuguese. I tried to pacify him the best I could. Within an hour while we were parleying the troop arrived. The Captain made here but a very short halt, for that very night he went down with thirty soldiers to the Settlement of Surnite. I stayed behind in the company of the Religious. On the 7th when the Captain with the thirty soldiers arrived at dawn at the Settlement of Surnite, the Portuguese that were coming were already ascending. The Captain Ignacio Correa with four other white men and a negro awaited them arms in hand; and they had some twelve fire-arms. Correa asked, whether they came for peace or war. The Captain replied for peace; and no fighting took place. Afterwards he deprived them of their arms, but left them at liberty without apprehending them. So one of them named Amador at the beginning of the night, having his canoe already laden and the captives embarked, set off down the river warning all the Settlements of our coming. In this Settlement the Coronist, Fr. Antonio de Andrade, was accustomed to reside, but a little before he had gone to Pará, and

he had retained in that neighbourhood the Omaguas from four settlements, brought down from higher up the river. On the following day the Captain despatched a small canoe to Hupapate[1] with a message to Don Antonio Oviedo to descend with 15 men to take the captives upstream. On the 9th he despatched another with a summons for me. Father Sanna remained at Hupapate, where in my absence the soldiers of Borja and Moyobamba having stirred up a riot with the Indians of La Laguna and Xeberos, returned up the river and I on the 10th arrived at Zuruite having travelled all the night. The same day with the Captain and some few soldiers we descend to the third Settlement of the Aysuares, Yocuzurite, where we arrive at sunset. Here we meet Fr. Andres Solo, an aged man of more than 70 years, with a young Portuguese servant, for all the people had gone away, because an Omagua fugitive had told them that the Spaniards were coming by night burning and killing everyone. We proceed on our journey to the fourth Settlement, where we arrive the second day about noon, having passed the preceding night near the river Jupura. The Religious, named Fr. Balthazar, as soon as he was advised of our coming and already arriving at his Settlement, fled down the river with two Portuguese. The people were continually coming in their little canoes to see me, and I set forth to them the cause of our coming, that it was by the order of the King of Castile, and invited them to come up the river, so as to be no longer molested by the Portuguese. On this, all of them came to wait for those who were absent and to get a supply of flour. Here we stayed the following day where I baptized an infant and some sick folk. From here there is no other Settlement until the Taromas of the Rio Negro, where Fr. Juan Guillerme is serving.

On the 14th we set out on our return journey upstream. All the people embarked with us, although we told them that they should first supply themselves with flour, and that afterwards they should follow us. Many of them on embarcation set fire to their houses so that the Portuguese should not take

[1] Spelt also Guapapate; Huapapate; Jupapate.

shelter in them. Those of Yocuzurite and Zuruite did the same, where on our return we arrive on the 18th. Here we stayed six days until the people, that had been delayed, should arrive. On the 23rd the Captain despatched to Pará an aged Portuguese, named Joseph Rodrigues, with the ornaments of the Churches and letters for the Governor. On the 24th we set out for Hupapate, where we arrive at nine in the evening, the Indians had already gone forward up the river. On the 25th two hours before dawn we depart for the Province of Omagua, journeying day and night. On the 28th at dawn we arrive at Cafuri, where we find Don Antonio Oviedo with the prisoners and a part of the soldiers on their way to Quito. Here everything was going well, for all the Indians appeared to have made up their minds to ascend farther up, when suddenly a Jurimagua Chief warns me that the Aysuares of Zuruite were returning down the river, being enraged because a soldier had publicly violated the wife of the Cacique. May God free us from such a set of rascals. From here I suffered from an attack of diarrhœa, which accompanied me as far as San Joaquim. On the 8th of September I arrive at San Pablo, where an attack of malaria was added to the diarrhœa, and I stayed here seven days to effect a cure and wait for the rest of the canoes and people. On the 15th I proceeded upstream to San Joaquim, where I arrived on the 21st, having voyaged day and night, so prostrated that I could scarcely keep my feet. I found however Father Bollarte in great danger from dropsy; and I, through God's favour, after many days recovered. The Father died to the exceeding grief of all the Mission, since he was a man of much zeal and edification.

On the 17th of October two canoes with infantry set out for Napo and Quito; five Portuguese prisoners go with them. The Carmelite Religious, Fr. Juan de Luz, being aged, infirm and crippled, remains here until a fresh decision of the Audiencia of Quito arrives. On the 31st likewise started for Quito the officer of the troop, Don Luis Itubirbe with the rest of the people, less twenty-one that had perished in the enterprise. May God's blessing rest upon the Mission, since it is now left without the protection of an escort that could

attack the Portuguese in case, as report says, they should come up for vengeance. On the 7th of November being already in a better state of health I set out from here for the Settlement of La Laguna, bringing with me the Aysuares from Hupapate, that conjointly with the Jurimaguas they may pass on upstream to settle in the old Settlement of the Cocamillas, Guallaga. I arrived at La Laguna on the 28th. At the beginning of December I sent on the Jurimaguas and Aysuares to Guallaga, so that they should make a start with the new Settlement, giving them in charge to Father Joseph Ximenes, Missionary of Moniches.

The year 1710. In April many Jurimaguas and Aysuares sickened of various complaints and died, in consequence some retired to Jarapa, and others to another lagoon, Samiria. Of the Portuguese there has been no news until March, when Father Sanna, in a despatch that came from Omaguas, advises me that a numerous troop is coming up, he is therefore preparing to transport the people from San Joaquim and a part of those of San Pablo to Jarapa. On the 8th of June Stanislas Vasque arrives from Quito to this Laguna. He brought very grievous news of the Mission of Omaguas. In coming up to Jarapa, he says, that he met at night-time two Indians, who told him how the Portuguese had come with the Coronist, Fr. Antonio de Andrade, in ten canoes; and at the same time as Father Sanna was removing the people of San Joaquim to Jarapa, they encountered them in Mayvite, where the Father was detained through lack of canoes, and when the Portuguese were seeking to place the Omaguas in fetters, these killed a server; and so they slew many of them by shots of swivel-guns, others they carried away prisoners, and with them the Father and eight rowers of his company; and they announced that they were not going to stop until they had laid hands on me, to whom they attribute the carrying off of the 5 Portuguese to Quito, and that they were not going up now to La Laguna for lack of flour. Of all this I advised the lieutenant of Borja and the Provincial of the Company. If God sends no speedy remedy the whole Mission very shortly will be destroyed.

In July I sent a Spanish servant with people to Jarapa to bring the Church furniture, that has been left there, and to invite the Omaguas and Jurimaguas, that have escaped from the Portuguese attacks, and are on the point of retiring to these lakes to come up here. In September the lieutenant of Borja having paid me a visit, we both wrote to Mayobamba, asking for some eight or ten men, if needs be, for the defence of these Missions against any invasion that is to be feared of the Portuguese. In October there came some men from Borja to this Laguna, and made some trenches on the conduit and the roadway to repel the Portuguese should they venture to come up. The Church furniture of most importance was transferred to the Settlement of Xeberos. There arrived also some fugitive Omaguas, who say that the whole of Omagua is deserted; the inhabitants of some Settlements have fled, others have been carried away by the Portuguese that are at present with the Friars among the Aysuares. In that same part are also the rowers taken with Father Sanna, who desired to go down to Pará to speak personally with the Governor over the acts of violence that have taken place. On the 4th of December the Captain Don Fernando Saldaña came from Moyobamba with some soldiers to defend this Settlement, although the Lieutenant had prohibited under pain of death anyone to leave Moyobamba.

The year 1711. On the 3rd of April I received letters from Quito in which the Father Provincial wrote to me, that although the acts of violence that the Portuguese are committing in these Missions have been represented to the Royal Audiencia, there is no hope that they will seriously undertake their defence, alleging that the Royal Treasury could not bear the cost; and that it is very difficult to send men to traverse such great distances and to a climate of such an opposite character to that of this mountain country; and they only direct the Governor of Gixos to go in person to Napo to defend that haven with his Indians, if he could. The Portuguese that were going as recalcitrant prisoners, seeing the letters they had written and despatched, should be placed in the jail. In September I sent a despatch to Borja, asking that some men

of the escort should go down to personally inspect Omagua. The excuse was made that there was a lack of supplies.

The year 1712. In January I sent Joseph de Cantos and Domingo Perez with 55 Indians of this region to inspect the Provinces below and to gather tidings concerning the intentions of the Portuguese; that they might know that we have not abandoned those Provinces. They returned at the end of March with news that the fugitive Omaguas gave them, that Father Sanna at the time when the Portuguese seized him, was on the point of going up to Jarapa, and resting on a sandbank at night was already laid down in his hut, but at the sound of the oars he got up and hid himself in the forest. From there the Portuguese gradually disembarking seized the rowers, plundered the canoes, and took possession of the belongings of the Father. Afterwards they went in search of him, and having encountered him in the forest with loud huzzas they all fired at once in the air, and placed him in a hammock. They then killed an Indian of San Joaquim, and two sons of another. In this troop there came three Carmelite friars and 300 whites or Mamelukes with guns. After this one came another smaller troop and carried off the doors, altar-piece and pictures of the house and Church, with five bells. The Friar and Portuguese that they have left in residence at San Pablo, they say, were summoned to Pará more than three months ago. The Omaguas are dispersed and practically destroyed. Some are wishful to form a Settlement in Ucayali, as likewise the Jurimaguas, who say that they have found lands very suitable for a Settlement. To Guallaga they will in no wise go up, but would prefer to serve the Portuguese. The present difficulty is that unless Father Sanna return, there is no Missionary who can help them.

On the first of October I sent down Father Joseph Ximenes with an escort to see the Omaguas and Jurimaguas, who wish to settle here. On the 18th four Omaguas, that had belonged to San Joaquim, assured me that all those from that Settlement had gathered in Ucayali, and were desirous of having a Missionary to take charge of them. On the 9th of December Father Joseph Ximenes returned with similar news and

brought fifty Jurimagua families that were scattered about in that part and now consent to come up and settle themselves at Guallaga. A few days before I received a letter from Quito in which the Father Visitor, Francisco Sierra, released me from the charge of Superior of these Missions, and announced that Father Gregorio Bobadilla would succeed me.

The year 1713. On the 12th of March some Omaguas arrived at this Laguna from Ucayali, saying that others from below have given them notice that a Portuguese troop is coming in search of them. As to Father Sanna, they say that he was sent to Portugal some time ago.

The year 1714. On the 10th of January I set out from La Laguna for Xeberos to serve from this time forwards in this Settlement in company with Father Francisco Vidra. On the 10th of April I received a letter from the Father Superior, Gregorio Bobadilla, in which he told me, that some Omaguas had come from Ucayali and relate that two Portuguese canoes have arrived at San Pablo and that others were waiting to ascend up here to see me and to make peace, restoring the captives. The Father Superior added that he had gone down in person to San Pablo to avert the ascent of the Portuguese. On the 21st I received a letter from the same, in which he informs me that on the 11th three Portuguese canoes with the sergeant-major of Pará and nine other soldiers sent by the Governor, Christoval de Acosta, by order of the King arrived at La Laguna to restore the prisoners, and a portion of the ornaments of the Church that they had carried away more than four years ago. The Governor says in his letter that this has been sent by order of his King, and asks that they likewise send him the prisoners that had been taken to Quito. Ours they had sent to Lisbon, from whence the King had sent them to Castile. The Portuguese will judge that they have given us satisfaction in this, though retaining possession of the lands and missions of the Crown of Castile. I received likewise a letter from Father Juan Baptista Sanna, written in Lisbon on the 7th of April of the past year, in which he says, that the King of Portugal did not permit him to return here. To Spain he did not wish to go because of the

present disturbances, and that at last though with great difficulty he obtained leave to go to China, whither he was that very day embarking with seven companions. He went to Japan. On the 25th August arrived a despatch from Quito, that the Royal Audiencia was returning the Portuguese prisoners, as the King of Portugal had returned the Castilians. The Captain, Joseph de Cantos, went down therefore from the mouth of Napo as far as Pucutepachirú, an Omagua Settlement, to deliver up two Portuguese prisoners that he brought from Quito. Of the other three, one was married in that district; another returned from Archidona; Ignacio Correa went to Lima and married there.

From the years 1715 *to* 1723. In October, 1715, Father Juan de Zaldarriaga went to Ucayali to look after the Omaguas. On the 14th of April, 1716, this Father died of haemorrhage in Ucayali. On the 14th of May, 1719, there came a despatch from Quito, and with it came Father Luis Coronado, to reside in Ucayali as Missionary to the Omaguas, and at the same time inspecting the Payaguas and Icaguates of Napo. On the 21st of March, the said Father died, like his predecessor, from haemorrhage. A little before he had transported the Omaguas from Ucayali to the banks of the Marañon, higher up than Nanay. Father Pedro Servela was present at his death, and afterwards went to Quito. This same year I learnt, how in Copaca, an Omagua Settlement, the Chamas killed Fr. Antonio de Andrade, whom the late King had summoned to Portugal because of the acts of violence that he had committed against us. After the death of the King having returned to Marañon and been ordained priest, in an attack that he made on the habitation of the said natives, he with others of the Portuguese suffered disastrously. A troop having gone up to chastise them they drowned among others Pedro Taicorema, son of Payoreva, who was the first child that I baptized, when I began to missionarize the Omaguas in the year 1685.

In July 1723 there arrived at these Missions, four Fathers, recently come from Spain, two of whom, Bernardo Zurmullen and Juan Bapta Julian, both Germans, are going to

take charge of the Omaguas. On the 16th of August of the same year Father Ignacio Meauris, having come in from Jaen to visit these Missions, arrived at this Settlement and asked me to give information, about our Mission lower down that in the past years had been seized by the Portuguese. At his request I gave him all the information that I could, and this information he took away in writing.

Here the Journal of Father Samuel touching the Mission of the Omaguas, Jurimaguas &c. comes to an end.

§ VIII

Brief recapitulation of the deeds, the virtues and the death of Father Samuel

Whoever will read attentively the Journal of the Father, cannot fail to acquire a fair knowledge of this Apostolic Man, whom it seems that God chose to go forth as a Missionary, fearless and unshaken, in the midst of stormy perils which at times are the arms of Hell against those that devote themselves to the conversion of the Heathen. Nevertheless for our fuller knowledge of him, I will make here a brief recapitulation of his deeds, virtues and death, drawn in large part from certain notes left by Father Wenceslas Breyer, also a Missionary on the Marañon and a countryman of Father Samuel, with whom he had familiar intercourse and who was for some time his companion in the Mission of the Omaguas.

Father Samuel Fritz, a native of Ornavia, a town of Bohemia, a nation of noble Fathers, was born the 9th of April, 1654. Having studied in due course humane letters and philosophy he supplicated, and was in the year 1673 admitted into the Company of Jesus, where he studied theology with such brilliancy, that the Superiors destined him from the outset for the first positions in this illustrious Province. But showing a strong preference for the vocation to which God was calling him for the conversion of the Heathen, with the approbation of N.M.R. Father General he went to these Indies and the College of Quito, from whence after a brief

repose of a few weeks, he set forth in the year 1686 for the Marañon and took charge of the Mission of the Omaguas, and of the further Nations to which his zeal extended, being the first Missionary that went out to preach the faith in those Provinces, because those that had preceded him entered there only for exploration. He entered alone without any escort, and laboured unweariedly alone with no companion in that most widespread Mission until the year 1704, when he was appointed Superior of all the rest.

In the course of these 18 years the hardships and the dangers to his life through which he passed, the heathen that he brought into the bosom of the Church, the immense journeys that he undertook for the conversion and extension of his Mission, cannot be described. Of the Omaguas alone he formed 28 settlements, and he likewise made friends with and settled the Jurimaguas, Aysuares and Ybanomas; made converts of and baptized many Mayorunas, Cammuris, Pevas, Caivisanas, Guareicus, Cuchivaras and other tribes that live in the forests near the Marañon. Attacks of illness compelled him to go down to Gran Pará, where the Portuguese detained him a prisoner for the space of two years. From there having returned to the Mission he passed on to the Court of Lima to treat with the Lord Viceroy for some help against the acts of violence and claims of the said Portuguese. Twice he went up to Quito to petition for Missionaries to help him in his labours in so wide a vineyard. I will say nothing of his journeyings within the limits of his Mission, that were continuous, for the solace and instruction of his catechumens. When he was Superior, an office which he filled for nine years, he multiplied his toils, having to lend his support to the work in every part. But the chief burden upon him was the seeing, in spite of his diligence and watchful care, the whole of his Mission, that had cost him so much painful toil and labour, scattered and almost destroyed, all his dear children captives, dead, or fugitives in the forests and lagoons. His grief was so great, as to endanger his life.

Already worn out by the labours and the illnesses that he had undergone, that had their origin in a life of such hard-

ship, he retired to the Mission Station of the Xeberos, where God was served by prolonging to him marvellously his life for eleven years more for the solace of the Indians of that Settlement, that he quietly taught and instructed in Christian habits and mode of living until his death.

These were the most memorable deeds of Father Samuel. His virtues were such as were recognised for the ministry of an Apostolic Missionary; and in the first place an absolute purity and innocency of habits. One who for many years was the director of his conscience affirms on oath, that he never committed a grave fault in the whole of his life. Even of lighter faults he had great horror, as may be gathered from the great circumspection with which he was accustomed to measure all his actions, and the great exactitude with which he kept the religious observance of his prayers. We may say that it was continuous, and with very special illumination, as a small manual, in which he was accustomed to write them down, enables us abundantly to understand; and this was the most precious jewel that was found after his death. Proportionate to his prayfulness was his mortification in the midst of the rough life and the savagery of the Indians, and what was worse, in so many encounters that he had with the people from Pará, who ascended the Marañon to disquiet and to cause a thousand vexations to his catechumens. Never did they see him lose his self-possession, except when his zeal for the Glory of God was in question; and then with great seriousness and with few words he represented to them what was reasonable and just, in such a manner that they confessed themselves convinced, promised amendment, and were left better friends of the Father, even to revealing to him the hidden secrets of their hearts.

Inward mortification was habitual to the Father amid so many discomforts by rain storms, intense heat of the sun, lack of habitation, food, clothing, and a thousand other hardships, that he experienced in his continuous wanderings and journeyings in the midst of the illnesses and risks of life, that he endured without assistance, solace or alleviation. Never was heard from him at any time any complaint, nor did he

give the least sign that he desired at any time to be freed from such a painful life by seeking for some repose. Before everything his chief anxiety and desire was in his Call, and to shed his blood for the faith of Jesus Christ. His daily food was brought to him, just such as the servant-boys offered it to him; at most times badly cooked and without any seasoning, and moreover in itself very coarse. Many observed that he did not drive away from himself the mosquitoes and other small insects that cause so much trouble to the Indians themselves, and it is in thus taking his full share of the most painful plague of these lands, that one must attribute the many ulcers that he had on his whole body, and that only his death revealed to the horror of those who laid out his corpse for burial.

To mortifying of the flesh was added an intense hatred and abhorrence of idleness, so that neither the temperature with its excessive depression, nor attacks of illness, nor any other cause were sufficient to persuade him to take any repose beyond what was absolutely necessary. He was either praying or reading or giving instruction to the people, or was employing himself in some manual task in imitation of the ancient fathers in the desert and also of the Apostles themselves. This horror of idleness that possessed him was the Master that instructed him in the varied employments of sculptor, painter, carpenter, mason and architect, so that though he had never before practised these arts, he attained to such perfection and neatness of execution, as various works of his hands clearly demonstrate, especially pictures and statues for the Churches, which are the best of this kind that the Mission possesses. At the same time as he was occupying himself in these tasks, he was accustomed also by way of relaxation to give instruction to the native boys and people, or he employed himself in devout meditation and short prayers without ever giving way to idle conversation or thought. We have not however spoken of his chiefest virtues, which qualify him as a man truly Apostolic. One of them was a zeal that was indefatigable without mixture of self-interest, or any other motive whatsoever that did not directly regard the greater Glory of God. This was, as it were, the soul of all his actions, ideas

and thoughts; this it was that made him delight in burying his surpassing talents and accomplishments in this remote corner of the world amidst barbarous people, where no applause awaited him nor any human reward. This it was that made him sacrifice his life to a thousand sufferings and dangers. This it was that gave him wings not only to transport himself from the north of Germany to the most southern of the Indies, but also to undertake for the welfare of the heathen such painful and most extended travels. The journeys alone that he made to Pará, Lima and Quito covered more than 4000 leagues, partly on foot, partly in embarcations that were very hazardous.

A result of this his ever-increasing zeal was also a very especial love of all the Indians, whom he regarded and cared for as his real children; and, as he deserved, they likewise regarded and respected him, as a Father with such demonstration of affection and tenderness, as has never been seen nor will ever be seen not only amongst barbarians, but even amongst Christian people. The Father had another virtue in a very heroic measure, and of which we may say that it was amongst all others most characteristic of him, and that was a fortitude and greatness of soul that was superior to all the storms that Hell can and is wont to upraise against those that are devoting themselves zealously to the advancement of the Glory of God. Persecuted and murmured at; calumniated in various manners even by his Superiors; his life threatened repeatedly both by Christians and Heathen; taken prisoner as a spy and violator of the rights of a Royal Crown; he was never discouraged, it rather seemed that with the persecutions more and more did he gain fresh strength for carrying on his Apostolical efforts. The letters and the reports that he wrote many times to the Viceroy of Pará, to the Courts of Rome, Madrid, Portugal and other parts, the urgent protests that he made to those, who contrary to every law, attempted to obstruct the conversion of the heathen, breathe all the firmness of a Chrysostom, or rather of a Xavier when he [Xavier] wrote to the King, Don Juan, giving him an account of the hindrances, that he met with, to the propaga-

tion of the Faith in the East Indies. Two years before his death, notwithstanding his many infirmities and very advanced age, he offered himself to his Superiors, as ready to go in person to Spain and Portugal, and were it necessary to the end of the world to defend the liberty of the Indians and to plead the cause of God against the acts of violence and injustice committed by the neighbours of Gran Pará.

For these and other virtues there was no one who did not hold Father Samuel for a truly Apostolic and Holy Man; and for such they acclaimed him with one voice at Quito on the two occasions on which he went up to that city at the head of a band of his neophytes. For such was he venerated by the Lord Viceroy of Lima, the Count of Montcloba with all his wisest councillors, and what is more for such did the neighbours of Pará hold him, notwithstanding that with great pertinacity he opposed their pretensions and reproved openly their deeds of violence and greed, when he went down to be cured in that city. The natives in all their Settlements agreed that they saw in him a man not as other ordinary men, and rumour depicted the venerable aspect, that he had, as a being of the other world, to say nothing of the conception of him, which was held by his catechumens and other Indians, since many of them came to recognize in him a power akin to divinity, attributing to him eclipses, the flooding of rivers, and other wonderful activities of the Author of Nature. This however need occasion no surprise, since according to an authentic report (it was taken down in the year 1695 by Dr Don Bernardo Nicolas Henrique, Priest-Vicar of Jaen de Bracamoros, and the original, as sworn to by the witnesses, is kept in the Archives of the Province of Quito) which was published in all the Missions, that when the Father entered the lands of the barbarians, these saw the Cross that he was carrying resplendent in his hands; and they asked the Christians, what was the meaning of such splendour. God also sought to give confirmation to his preaching with another prodigy, that we have related in the course of this narrative, although to my thinking the greatest of all was his life and heroic virtues.

To these corresponded also his death, which although in appearance sudden was not so in any way. The Father's words make it clear that he anticipated his end two days before it came. On the 16th of March, he said to a Father that was accompanying him, *Non videbo diem nativitatis meae* (He would have completed his seventy years on the 9th of April). This same day on which one may say that he gave himself the *viaticum*, having made his general confession a little before after the Mass, all the people of the Settlement being present in the Church, as one who bade farewell to his beloved children, in terms of particular tenderness he asked them for their prayers and supplications, that God would accomplish in him His most Holy Will, whether it were to live or to die. That he did not ask for life except for the purpose of caring for their souls and showing to them the way of salvation, and that if he should die, that they should pray to God for the repose of his soul, for he had loved them much.

It is to be noted, that although for some months he was going about feeling at times very ill, he still remained on his feet, nor did he give signs that he was so near to death. The day following being the Eve of San Joaquim who was, as we have said before, the Saint of his predilection, at night he said to his companion, that he hoped on the following day to be strong enough to say Mass to his Saint, but he did not obtain his wish except to celebrate the festival in Heaven, since at dawn he died from a stroke, as is said, of apoplexy.

As soon as the news was spread in the Settlement there was heard in it a universal lamentation, as when people mourn for the death of their nearest of kin. They all ran to the house of the Father, wishing never to separate themselves from his body, until they interred it amidst continuous weeping and sobs. They were never satiated with gazing at it, and said that it appeared to be alive. In reality after having placed the body in the coffin clad in sacerdotal robes, the countenance that before was pale and deathly, became highly coloured and beautiful, as when it was living, inducing love rather than horror.

Thus did this holy man end his days. He was worthy of

living for many centuries that he might complete the conversion of all the heathen of the Marañon.

§ IX

State of the Mission of the Omaguas and Jurimaguas after the year 1715

The Omaguas, that had the good fortune to escape from the wars of the Portuguese of Pará, having been gathered together, as is told in the Journal of Father Samuel, settled upon the river Ucayali at a little distance from the Marañon, and the Father Juan de Zaldarriaga was given to them as Missionary, who a few months afterwards died. At the end of three years Father Luis Coronado succeeded him, who went to the Settlement of Ucayali on the bank of the Marañon, about a day's journey higher than Nanay, where he also ended his days in March 1721. With this the Omaguas were again left without a missionary until the end of July 1723, at which date Father Bernardo Zurmullen took charge of this Mission. He, in his turn three years afterwards becoming Superior, at the request of the said Omaguas again moved the Settlement about a half day's journey higher in the land of Jamcos, where they live at present. The customs and reforms that were made in this Settlement in these last times will be told in what follows.

As to the Jurimaguas that were driven from their lands in the year 1709, and others of them that escaped from the power of the Portuguese, Father Joseph Ximenes collected them and settled them upstream at Guallaga near the mouth of the river Paranapura, here they live at present very happily; the said Father Joseph Ximenes having gone up to Quito, they had in succession various missionaries without their ever having had a lack of the assistance of some one of them. The Jurimaguas are the most capable and industrious people to be found in these Missions. The women ordinarily occupy themselves in painting jars, cloths and cotton coverings with much skill. They said that when they were heathen, they were

accustomed to call by enchantments the snakes to their houses, especially that which is called *Madre del agua*, for the purpose of copying the marks and figures upon their skin. The men imitate with facility whatever they see, and are wont to be very courteous and polite. They learnt this politeness perhaps from the Spaniards of Mayobamba, and still more from those with whom they had much intercourse, for from the time that in their old lands Father Samuel befriended them and gave to them the first news of the Faith, they have always exhibited particular affection for their Missionaries, and attention to their instruction, and to Christian manners. The locality in which they live on the bank of the River he examined, and the planting of the Settlement of the best land of the Mission abounded with supplies for their enjoyment; but at the same time they have more than enough in it for the exercise of patience in the presence of stinging insects in the sand flies, toads, jiggers and ants of many species. The souls that now dwell there are little more than three hundred. Dependencies of the Settlement are the San Antonio of Padua of the Muniches, and that of San Juan Francisco Regis of the Lamistras, that is distant about half a league of level road in the forest. I make special mention of this as I stayed in the Mission Station of the Jurimaguas in the year 1731 on the occasion when I assisted in it for some months in company with its Missionary.

As regards the manners and reformation of the Omaguas the account of their Missionary, who is today Father Carlos Brentano, is as follows,—the Mission Station of San Joaquim of the Omaguas contains today 522 souls, among these are some families of Jamcos, who have established a footing here and have kinship with the Omaguas themselves. There are also some Indians and especially youths of various tribes and languages, Annalas, Mapirinas, Cammuris, Pevas, Cavaches, Icaguates, Pararas, Mayorunas and Quitos and others, so that this Mission Settlement is today, as it were, the Seminary of the heathen nations and the camp from whence one sets out for fresh conquests. For these youths of different languages and nations there has been formed in fact a kind of seminary

or house, in which they all live together. The Missionary Father provides their food and clothing; they also by turns serve the Father, as cooks. The daily routine is as follows. Immediately after rising they all in a loud voice recite their prayers in the Inca tongue, and from there at the stroke of the bell they go quietly two and two in good order to the Church, where at the hour of the Mass they pray with the rest of the young people, some days prayers, on others the rosary, and meanwhile the Father celebrates the Eucharist. After the Mass they all seat themselves around the door of the Church, in two groups, the one of boys, the other of girls, and recite alternately the prayers by heart. The Father, having finished the Eucharist, goes about examining them and explaining to them some points of doctrine, concluding with singing the *Alabado*[1]; they then return to the house in the same order as before to take some breakfast. After this each one goes to carry out his duties; some set themselves to cook the midday meal; others to learn to play the guitar and violin and to sing the offices of the Mass; others occupy themselves in unravelling cotton, and in spinning and weaving their own clothing; others in mending the shoes and garments of the Father and their own; others in making hempen-sandals, weaving breeches; others in making hammocks, oars, bows, arrows, lances, shields, so that they know everything when they grow up. Some of greater ability learn also to read, write, bleed, shave &c. At midday they all serve, remaining on foot while the Father is eating. The meal ended, kneeling around they recite aloud the *Alabado*, and are formed then into different groups for eating, and before and after they make the sign of the Cross. Up to two o'clock in the afternoon they are allowed some rest and amusement. At two they return to the tasks of the morning, and occupy themselves in cleaning out the orchard and seed-plots &c. until five o'clock. From then until six they have some rest or go and bathe themselves. At six at the stroke of the bell they again go to the Church in the accustomed order, recite the prayers, and

[1] Hymn of praise in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.

learn to sing some devotional songs, after which they sing the *Salve* and *Alabado*. Returned to the house they go by permission of the Father to those of their relatives and acquaintance to drink, and on their return some busy themselves with cooking, others with singing or in learning the Inca language with the instruction of the Father. They maintain the order of mid-day, and also practice themselves in the Spanish language. They then have prayers, and all go to rest in the same room, which is locked.

On the lines of this seminary of boys a house is actually being set apart for the reception of girls of twelve years old and upwards, and of all young widows. This house is that in which the married Spaniards live, who are serving in this Settlement. These girls and young women are in charge of their wives, and they likewise sleep in a closed chamber under key. Their daily instruction is in spinning, weaving, painting, rearing poultry, praying, &c.

In the boys' seminary they enter from 8 to 9 years; in that of the girls from 12, and they remain until marriage. For which object the Missionary publishes every Sunday and feast-day those of either the one or the other sex who have already completed the age, exhorting their parents and relatives that as soon as possible they try to help them forward; and when they leave the Father's house they give to them iron tools and other necessary things. These boys and girls also with the rest of the inhabitants keep their own proper festival to the Child Jesus, on the day of the Nativity on which they confess and communicate, as likewise in Lent and Corpus Christi.

Moreover in the two Seminaries of this Settlement a course of military exercises has been established to train the Indians to invade the lands of the heathen and to defend themselves from their enemies, and also if needs be from the Portuguese. This military training takes place every Sunday fortnight in the evening, all passing at the sound of the drum and flute into the appointed landing place. Sometimes they go out with lances, bows and javelins to throw at a mark; those that show the greatest skill carrying off the prize that the Father

offers, generally a quid of tobacco; at other times they go out with shields and lances made of Achua (that is a kind of Yuca that is very light and does not break) and form squadrons, engage among themselves in a kind of combat, and take prisoners, the ones from the others. In the same manner they arrange at times a naval battle in their small canoes in the middle of the Marañon, the victors carrying off the prize, which is, as I have said, a quid of tobacco, a harpoon, a fish-hook or other similar thing. Also on these same days the Spaniards that assist the Father fire with ball at a mark, so that they should not grow lazy through lack of practice with their arquebuses.

In imitation of the adults, the lads, principally the Seminarists, likewise have exercises on the intermediate Sundays, and these are wont to be rather in the nature of diversion than is the case in the exercises of the adults. For this they appoint their captains, ensigns, sergeants and other war-chiefs.

The narrative of the Missionary Father of the Omaguas continues as far as this, written in the year 1731, that which he adds concerning other natives, and the Settlements of the Jamcos, Mayorunas, Cammuris and Pevas, that up till now had been under his charge, shall be told in its place.

APPENDIX

No. 1. *Letters from the late* Sir Clements Markham, F.R.G.S. *to the* Rev. George Edmundson.

21, Eccleston Square, S.W.
21 *Nov.* 1904.

My dear Sir,

I have tried to find the writings of Father Samuel Fritz during many years without success. I found some account of him in the *Reise Beschreibungen*, iv, 56, xiv, p. 61, which I gave in my Introduction to the volume on the expeditions into the valley of the Amazon (1859), p. xxx, but I never could get his Journal or his map of 1707[1]. You made a very important discovery in finding Fritz's Journal. I am sure that the Council of the Hakluyt Society will gladly welcome your offer to undertake to edit the Journal of Father Fritz with an Introduction. The Secretary will write to you about it.

Ever yours very truly,
Clements Markham.

In another letter dated 24 Nov. 1904, Sir Clements Markham writes:

I shall look forward to the Fritz volume. I suppose you know that the Hakluyt Society have issued two volumes on the Amazon.... Do you know my list of the tribes in the valley of the Amazon printed by the Anthropological Society in 1895?

Your volume must of course have the Fritz map of 1707[1].

No. 2. *The Maps*[2] *of* Father Samuel Fritz.

Among the many accomplishments of Father Samuel Fritz was that of being a careful and scientific geographer. His map of 1691 was the direct result of his journey, when very ill, from his mission station, *Nuestra Señora de las Niebes*, among the Jurimaguas to Pará to seek medical aid in 1689,

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[1] *Note.* This map was found by the editor of this volume in the Public Library of Evora.

[2] Reproductions of Fritz's maps of 1691 and 1707 may be found in the Atlas published by the British Government in support of the British Case in the Boundary Arbitration, British Guiana—Brazil. The Arbitrator, the King of Italy, gave his decision in 1904.

and his return journey after a long detention by the Portuguese in 1691. Of this map he himself writes thus:

For better knowledge and general information concerning this great river Marañon or Amazons I have made this geographical map with no little toil and exertion, having navigated it in the greater part of its course as far as it is navigable. Although up till now so many maps have appeared without prejudice to any one, I say that no one of them has been drawn with the proper survey of levels, since they neither saw nor took the levels of this great river, or they extracted them from authors, whose writings left them confused. With this new exploration of the whole of this river Amazons that I have made and brought to light, I do not appraise my work for the carrying out of the duties of my undertaking, when one sees other greater undertakings of human diligence in this same enterprize either disappointed or hindered by fate, so that up till now no one has been able to accomplish his designs, unless I proclaim it as a work wholly under the guidance of the Divine Providence, that it was his good pleasure to prostrate me with mortal attacks of illness the better to make use of me, as one of his chief instruments.

The Father might well have appraised his work more highly than he did, for not only is his map wonderfully accurate so far as his personal observation extended, but it continued to be the only trustworthy source of information to cartographers for many years after his death, and the notes that he appended to his two maps upon the topography, fauna and flora of the great river were also of much interest and value. The well-known French scientist and explorer, M. de la Condamine, had a very high opinion of Fritz's services to geographical and ethnographical knowledge. As a note in French appended to the map of 1691 informs us, he deposited this map (which he found at Pará after his descent of the river in 1762 and took with him to Paris) in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*[1], where it was undoubtedly of great assistance to D'Anville, the first cartographer to produce a map of the South American continent which could be consulted with any confidence. D'Anville owed much to La Condamine[2], and La Condamine to Fritz's Journal and maps.

[1] Now the *Bibliothèque National*.

[2] La Condamine also carried with him from Pará the sketch map of the Dutch official Horstman, who made his way from the river Essequibo by way of the rivers Rupununi, Maho and Branco into the Rio Negro.

Fritz's later map of 1707 was, according to the authority of the writer of the Evora MS, a reduction of the map of 1691, and was engraved at Quito by Father Juan de Narvaes. This statement receives corroboration by the note in Latin, which follows the heading in Spanish stating that the map was the work of Samuel Fritz. *P. J. de N. Societatis Jesu quondam in hoc Maranone Missionario sculpebat. Quito. Anno* 1707. We are further informed that the map was thus engraved by Father Juan de Narvaes in order that it might be presented on behalf of the Jesuit College of the Province of Quito to His Majesty Philip V. There is nothing however to show that this map was a mere reduction of the map of 1691[1]. It must be remembered that Fritz added largely to his knowledge of the Upper Amazon region and of the Peruvian mountain ranges on his journey to Lima in 1692 by way of the rivers Guallaga and Paranapura and then to Mayobamba, Chachapoyas, Caxamarca and Truxillo, and on his return journey in 1693 by Jaen and the defile of the Pongo, where we are expressly told that

he registered carefully the halting-places to the river Marañon, taking the heights of the more important places for the perfecting of his map and geographical reckonings.

The presence of a copy of this map at Evora would suggest that it was captured by the Portuguese at the same time as the MS containing Fritz's Journal.

No. 2 *a*. *Translation of the Title and the Notes attached to* Fritz's *Map of* 1691.

Geographical Map of the River Marañon or Amazons made by the Father Samuel Fritz of the Company of Jesus, Missionary in this same River of the Amazons in the year 1691.

. . . . . .

Notes upon the Map of the River Marañon or Amazons.

i. This river Marañon or Amazons although in the erroneous imagination of certain Indians it is two different rivers is in truth one and the same with different names. It has its source in the

[1] It is certain, from the notes that follow, that the map of 1691 received additions from the hand of Fritz, as the result of his journey to Lima.

southern shore of a lake that is called Lauricocha, near to Guanuco. It runs through the mountain country with great rapidity, and makes it way between Caxamarca and Chachapoyas by Jaen de Bracamoros. It is only from the port of Jaen onwards that it is navigable. The water that it carries until it debouches in the North Sea, below the Equator, is always white and turbid, except at the mouth of the Rio Negro, which is another river that enters it; both these rivers flow side by side, each one with its own waters, black and white or turbid, and are distinct as if a line had been drawn in the midst of the river, until after a few leagues the River of the Amazons overpowers the Rio Negro and makes its waters turbid.

Every year in the month of March this River of the Amazons is in flood, so that it rises five or more *braças*, submerging to a great extent the islands and villages and a considerable part of the shore, as there are no very high banks. This great flood lasts for three months, and then the people of the islands live upon raised platforms.

There is an abundance of fish and in one or other of the rivers there is one, rarely seen, that is called *vaca marina* (sea-cow), because its head is very like that of a land[1] cow, and it resembles a cow in the size of its body. It has neither feet nor hands, but for movement only makes use of fins that it has close to its head. It is a fish without scales; its skin is smooth and very thick; its food the herbs that it eats on the banks of the river. The flesh, which is succulent, has no fishy smell; roasted it is more tasty than pork. The female calves like an ordinary cow, and has udders below the fins, by which she gives milk to her young. There are turtles in so great abundance and so large, that they commonly weigh a *quintal*, and that in time of low water when they climb on the sandbanks to bury their eggs, more than a thousand of them at times on one night arrive and gather together upon a sandbank. The number of the eggs that they lay at one time passes credence.

There are in this river lizards, otherwise called crocodiles, exceedingly numerous, and very large and horrible; they are so daring that frequently they attack and upset the canoes, carrying away and devouring the Indians. In time of high flood, when the huts are inundated, they cause horror with the noise that they make with their ceaseless grunting, and at times entering into the houses they seize the inhabitants. There are found also monstrous snakes within the river, but they are very rare, that sometimes envelop the body of an Indian when bathing, strangling him and breaking his bones, and proceeding little by little to

[1] *terrestre.*

draw him in, since they have no teeth, and finally swallow him whole, or, when the Indian perchance is washing his hand from the canoe, seize hold of it, and unless the man is very brave and has no one to help him to extricate himself from the danger by cutting off its head, he infallibly perishes. The same great snakes are more frequent on the main land. Of other great snakes that are poisonous, and sandflies or mosquitos, jiggers, spiders, moths that eat all the clothes, ants, and among these some large ones of great size that in stinging cause fevers that last for twenty-four hours, there is very great abundance.

In the islands and the main lands there is a great quantity of...[1] of various species, wild pigs in troops, tapir, deer, turkeys, partridges, wild fowl, birds of many kinds with the most lovely plumage, tigers, lions also but these are not so fine or so large, as those in Africa. At the season of low water there are hosts of water-fowl and big ducks on the river and its shores.

ii. Beginning from twenty leagues more or less beyond Jaen to the mouth where the Amazon enters the sea there is on both banks and the islands very dense forest, the trees being very high and lofty. Some, when they are stripped of their bark, show timber coloured absolutely red; besides the red colour others are brilliantly tinted a dark yellow; others are black, as ebony. There are Yucas in great abundance. The Portuguese also collect a large quantity of bark of cloves (*corteza de clavo*) that is specially used as a dye. Voyaging along the banks of the river some fields are flooded; on the high land there are some forests. Inland are found in various districts heathen natives in large numbers.

iii. Among the most dangerous passes of all this river of the Amazons is the *Ostolche* above the town of Borja that is called Pongo, where the river rushes along with great rapidity and causes eddies, which in time of flood carry away the canoes. Only in large boats can one descend the river.

iv. The banks that are marked red are high lands and cliffs.

v. The narrow creeks and islands about the Rio Negro are exactly marked in this map. Lower down as the Amazon grows much wider and has more islands one cannot similarly verify them with the eye without research.

vi. The names written in Roman letters are those borne by different nations. In their wars with others they make use for the most part of lances and poisoned arrows. They go naked, and many of them eat one another.

vii. All the villages of the islands are not filled in because they often move and change their names. The Omaguas have always

[1] Illegible in the original.

worn dress and weave their clothes dyed in colours with beautiful industry.

viii. The river which is most famed for containing gold is the river of Yquiari, and from it the traders bring pieces of thin metal that the natives are eager to obtain for their ears.

ix. The Rio Negro in its headwaters communicates with the French, from whence they enter and trade with the natives....[1]

x. The first narrows, that the river Amazon has in its lower reaches is above the river Topajos, opposite the mouth of the river Trombetas being reduced to somewhat less than a quarter of a league without any island....[2] that all canoes may pass.

xi. There are no fortresses on the river.

xii. The Portuguese have here two cities S. Luis de Marañon and Pará. Four towns Tapintaneranete, Pigia and Comutá, three or more settlements besides of christianized Indians with their surroundings.

xiii. Cayenne is a fortress and settlement of the French.

[Note in French.] Map of the river of the Amazons, original by the hand of Father Samuel Fritz, a German Jesuit, drawn by him in 1689 and 1691. Deposited on 27 December 1762 in the Royal Library [at Paris] during my journey to Italy.

La Condamine.

No. 2 *b*. *Translation of the title, dedication and notes attached to* Fritz's *Map of* 1707.

The great River Marañon or Amazons in the Mission of the Company of Jesus. Geographically delineated by the Father Samuel Fritz, permanent Missionary in this River.

[In Latin.] P. J. de N.[3] of the Society of Jesus formerly a missionary in this Marañon engraved it at Quito, in the year 1707.

[Dedication.] To the Catholic and Royal Majesty
of the Kingdom, Sr Dn Philip V
the Province of Quito of the Company of Jesus
offers and dedicates
with utmost gratitude
this Map of the great River Marañon in his Apostolic Mission
as our Sovereign, Patron and Supporter
by the hand
of His Royal Audiencia of Quito

This famous River, the greatest that has been discovered, that bears the name sometimes of Amazons, sometimes of Orellana,

[1] The rest of this section ix indecipherable.
[2] Indecipherable.
[3] Padre Juan de Narvaes.

is properly the Marañon, a name that the majority of geographers give to it from its source and all the provinces of its upper course. It springs from the lake Lauricocha close to the city of Guanuco of the kingdom of Peru. It runs for 2800 leagues until it debouches in the North Sea through 84 mouths. Close to the town of Borja there are narrows called the Pongo of 25 *varas* in width and three leagues in length of such rapidity, that one navigates it in a quarter of an hour. Either bank from the town of Jaen de Bracamoros (from whence it is navigable) unto the Sea is covered with very lofty forest trees. There is timber of every colour, much cacao, sarsaparilla, and a bark, that is called cloves, for seasoning and dyeing. Amongst its innumerable fishes, the most singular is the River Cow or Fish Ox, so called from its resemblance. Its food is the grass of the banks, and the female gives birth to her young and nourishes them with milk. There is a great abundance of turtles, armadillos, and lizards or crocodiles; and there are some snakes so monstrous, that they carry away a man. In its forests there are fierce tigers, wild hogs and abundance of tapirs and many other species of animals with variety of colouring.

It is thickly peopled with innumerable barbarous tribes (the more numerous are noted in this Map), especially in the rivers that flow into it, some of which are famed to have much gold. The Portuguese possess towards the mouth some settlements, and in the mouth of the Rio Negro a fortress.

Mission of the Company of Jesus.

The Company of Jesus has in this great River a very extended, laborious and Apostolic Mission, on which it entered in the year 1658, whose head-centre is the town of S. Francisco de Borja in the Province of the Maynas, distant from Quito 300 leagues, and which extends by the rivers of Pastaza, Guallaga and Ucayali to the end of the Province of the Omaguas. One passes to it by very arduous roads and largely on foot by Jaen, Patate, and Archidona, in which ports the Missionaries embark in canoes voyaging long and hazardous distances to their mission-stations (*reduciones*). The savages have killed in these the following Fathers (whose deaths produced marvellous successes); Vitorio de Figuera in the mouth of the river Apeua near to Guallaga in 1660; Father Pedro Suarez in Maynas in 1660; Father Augustin Hurtado in Roamaynas in 1677; Father Henrique Pictaron Piros in 1695; and in this year 1707 news has repeatedly arrived that the savages have murdered Father Nicolas Burango in Gayos. The sites of their deaths are thus marked +. Also Father Raymundo de Sta Cruz met his death by drowning for such a glorious cause, while navigating the

river Bobomaya in 1662. The Company has in this Mission (besides the parochial Cure of Borja with its dependencies) in four districts 39 settlements founded by their sweat and for the larger part at their cost. In the district of Xeberos, La Concep[n] de Xeberos and its dependencies of Paranapuras, Chayavitas, Calmapunas, Hioniches and Otanapis. In the district of La Laguna, S. Jago de Gitipos and Cocamas and its dependencies Chamicuros, Tibilos and Aguanos. In the district of Gayes, S. Xavier de Gayes, and its dependencies of Roamaynas, Pevas, Puiches, Andoas and Semigayes. In the district of Omaguas, S. Joachim de Omaguas and its dependencies of Yuracas, Omaguas and Jurimaguas. In which districts and settlements there are some twenty-six thousand souls converted and baptized by the Missionary Fathers, who at present number sixteen priests (besides others that serve in the Mission of Colorados). Over and above the said settlements there are various friendly tribes, numbers of whom one hopes to convert and to increase largely this mission through the Royal Magnificence and Protection of His Majesty

ad majorem Dei gloriam.

No. 3. *Contemporary references from Portuguese sources to* Father Samuel Fritz *and his missionary work and activities in the Upper Amazon.*

(*a*) Extract from a letter from Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho[1], Governor of the State of Maranham to the King, giving an account, of how, having learnt that there had come into the villages of the Cariguaris and Cambebas[2] a missionary of the Jurisdiction of Quito, who was attempting to draw away the Indians to the Crown of Castile, he had despatched thither the Provincial of the Carmelites to follow him, who will take possession.

Sir, 20 July, 1697.

It is my duty to report to your Majesty, that while I was in the uplands of the river of the Amazons (of which expedition I am sending your Majesty a report by another letter) a short distance from the nations of the Cariguaris and Cambebas, having called their Chiefs to meet me, so that I might hear them and remind them of their obligations as vassals of your Majesty, they notified me, that Father Samuel of the Company of Jesus, a Missionary

[1] MS Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, *Archivo de Conselho Ultramarino*, Consultos, 845.

[2] Cambebas is the Portuguese name for the Omaguas of Fritz's Journal.

from the Jurisdiction of Quito, was often visiting their villages with the purpose of persuading them to withdraw to his vicinity farther up this same river, because these lands belonged to the Crown of Castile, whose jurisdiction extended to the Rio Negro, threatening them that if they did not do it of their own free-will, that it was his will to carry them off, by which they were frightened, since in the past year the said Father arrived there with soldiers, who is the same that your Majesty was pleased to command to be sent back to Quito. I submitted the matter to the Carmelite Provincial Frey Manoel da Esperança, who had accompanied me to visit his missions of the Rio Negro, and asked him that he would give me one of the missionaries of his Order so that he might at once in company with these same Chiefs be sent to take possession of the Mission of those villages, and to make his entry into them, as they lie on the same bank as his own district, higher up the river. He (the Provincial) not only granted my request, but further offered to undertake the task himself, and to make enquiries about every thing, and taking a Religious with him, he departed immediately, with an officer and soldiers for his protection, with orders to do all that was possible to arrive as far as the spot in which formerly a mark had been placed dividing the Jurisdictions, and more that the said order contains, a copy of which will accompany the present letter to your Majesty, as well as the protest made by the said Father Samuel, who at the same time arrived at these villages under the pretext of visiting them and of parleying with certain inhabitants of this Captaincy, who were engaged in gathering Cacao. But as the Carmelite Provincial had already taken possession, had erected an altar and was collecting timber for a Church, Father Samuel after some argumentation took his departure after being formally warned as to the manner in which he must conduct himself in those parts; and as the Carmelite Provincial and the said officer were seeking to go with him to the place, where the natives gave information that the boundary mark had formerly been placed five days journey from here up the river, a sudden malady among both Whites and Indians hindered him, compelling us to retire with some deaths. The Religious, who had to remain in that Mission marvellously escaped, and in this City the Provincial. It was settled with him that the same Missionary should without fail be sent to these said villages to choose a more healthy site, for these parts are usually insalubrious and intolerable from the multitude of mosquitoes.

It seems to me right, if your Majesty approve, that thanks should be given to the Carmelite Provincial for the zeal of which he has given proof in this business, besides deserving it for the way in which he carries out his duties, the good discipline, which

he exercises over his Religious, and the progress of the mission of the Rio Negro, and for having made this expedition without receiving any contribution for its expenses. I hope also that it will please your Majesty to send me orders as to how I am to deal with the said Father Samuel, if he or others of that Government resist the presence of our Missionaries, so that I may be able to carry out my duties in all that concerns the service of your Majesty and the conservation of your dominions.

May God protect your Majesty's Royal Person.

ANTº ALBUQUERQUE Cº DE CARVº.

Belem do Grão Pará, 29 July, 1697.

(*b*) Letter of Antonio de Miranda e Noronha upon the Mission with which he had been charged to visit the villages of the Cambebas in order to ascertain whether Castilians were traversing those parts and to verify the position of the boundary-mark dividing the dominions of the Portuguese Crown from those of His Catholic Majesty.

It pleased your Lordship to order me to go to the Villages of the Cambebas to obtain information from their chiefs as to whether any Castilians were traversing those regions in the dominions of this State, building fortresses, and further having intercourse with those Indians, and to give an account to your Lordship of everything that I had seen and learnt for certain so as to apply the necessary remedy that would be best for the Service of His Majesty, whom God preserve, and besides this that I should learn from the up-country chiefs where was the boundary-mark that Pedro Teixeira had set up in those regions to divide the dominions of this Crown from those of the Catholic King, and as the up-lands between this City (Pará) and the Rio Negro are so frequented by the Whites that go from here for trading purposes I will not trouble your Lordship by giving any particulars of the villages situated in this stretch of the route and I will give them to your Lordship only from the said Rio Negro, as far as the farthest point that I reached....

. . . . . .

On August 20th I set out from this village for that of the Solimõens[1] six days journey upstream, whose chief is named Ayraparú. Here they received me most contentedly without complaint

[1] Antonio de Miranda after a voyage up the Rio Negro ascended that part of the Amazon which lies above the mouth of the Rio Negro. To this upper river the Portuguese gave the name of Solimõens, which it still bears

from them, and they made me a quite good passage. From here I sent a message to the rest of the villages more remote from the Sea not to be alarmed at my approach as I was coming peacefully to visit them by command of your Lordship, as it had been agreed in the year that I brought back Father Samuel of the Company of Jesus, a Missionary of Quito, that I should go there again. When they had thus learnt this news, they rejoiced greatly at it and all of them awaited me with presents of food for my journey, which was very necessary for me, since I had almost consumed on my voyage the provisions I had brought with me. During the fifteen days that I remained in this locality I sought information from these Indians as to whether there were any Castilians in these parts or if any such had come on certain occasions, or further if they had received any news about them from their friends, who replied that they knew nothing of this matter nor had any Castilians been among them; and this same negative response was given me concerning the boundary-mark. That which they asked me many times was that your Lordship would send to them a Father to instruct them, and, likewise, to visit them every year, and that they had great hopes that they might receive one this year.

I set out from this place for the village of the Chief Mativa eight days voyage up the river, and on my road I visited five villages, and made enquiries among the people concerning the matters with which I was charged, and at length I arrived at the village of the Chief Mativa, where it was supposed that the Castilians were fortifying themselves. But I found that this was entirely false, and only that some Castilian Indians had come to Mativa's village, by order of Father Samuel, to meet this Chief, that the said Father by his influence wished to decide to take the step of bringing the whole of his tribe to his (Father Samuel's) mission, since they were Indians of good disposition, and for this reason he was anxious to draw them away from this place. The said Chieftain had in fact started on his way to join Father Samuel and have a parley with him, but because the envoy, who had come to call him, had died on the journey he had turned back to his own lands. This information was given me by the said Chief and by other Indians of his village, and on asking them whether any Castilians were frequenting these parts, or if they knew that they were anywhere erecting fortifications, they replied in the negative. I then enquired of them, whether they were acquainted with the spot, where the boundary-mark stood on the division line of the dominions of this Crown, that Pedro Teixeira had set up in those parts. I only found one Indian, by name Guanemajuccany, who told me that he had heard it said that the mark had been placed in a village of the Encabellados eight days distant from this,

named Canariá, and that the village of the Cambebas that is nearest to this spot is called Guacurayby, the which mark was on a bank close to the huts of the Indians, who lived there; but time with the inundations had caused these houses and with them the boundary-mark to be swept away into the river, but the most certain sign that he was speaking the truth is that there is a stream of water that runs by this same bank above some layers of stone, that will not disappear. I was unable to proceed to this place because my Indians fell ill of a malady, which was at its height this year of which three of them died, and from which the others escaped by a miracle. For this reason I at once descended the river to a people, named Jaguanaiz, occupying eight villages, all of the same tribe, with these I made peace, telling them of all the benefits that the Indians, who were our friends, received from us, and the said Indians assured me that they were very friendly towards us, and that they accepted our friendship in good faith, in token of which they at once offered their sons to do service for the white men, who should visit those parts.

While I was in the village of Mativa, the news was carried without my knowledge to the Mission of Father Samuel, who, believing me still in this village, wrote to me the letter that I enclose to your Lordship, and that the Indians, not having found me in the village brought to me to the Rio Negro, where I received it, but from the village of Mativa to the Mission of Father Samuel, there is more than a month's journey.

This, Sir, is the information that I am able to give to your Lordship concerning these districts....

. . . . . .

ANTONIO DE MIRANDA E NORONHA.

Belem do Pará, 25 May, 1695.

(*c*) Letter of the King to the Governor of Maranham, Christovaõ da Costa Freire, approving the measures that have been taken to repel the invasions of the Fathers Jesuits of Quito in the region of the Solimõens, but recalling the necessity of not impairing the defence of the fortresses.

Christovaõ da Costa Freire. Friend &c. I have seen what you wrote to me in your letter of the 24th December last year, in which you inform me that the Religious of the Company of Jesus, Missionaries of Quito, having left, in consequence of the notification you made to them, the three villages of San Paulo, San Joaquim and Santa Maria Mayor situated in my dominions, the Fathers Samuel Fernandes and Joaõ Baptista Sanna came into

the region of the Solimõens with a troop of eighty men made a Religious, a Carmelite missionary, prisoner and five Portuguese, then set fire to the Churches and many habitations of the villages, for which cause you have sent a troop of one hundred and fifty men with orders to arrest these two Fathers and all Religious found within the villages belonging to my Crown; then to replace the Carmelite Religious in possession of the said three villages, leaving in them a garrison sufficient for their defence, and you added that it was necessary that three hundred men should be sent you to fill up the gaps in the companies of this Captaincy; and I think it well to order you to render to me an account of the troop that you have sent out to arrest the Fathers, Samuel Fernandes and Joaõ Baptista Sanna, and to inflict vengeance for the hostilities of the Castilians.... All your care should be employed in the development of the region of the river Amazon and of its commerce, and it is to that that special attention should be directed. As to the reinforcement of three hundred infantry that you ask for, steps are being taken to despatch it to you.

THE KING.

Lisbon, 13th May, 1710.

No. 4. *The following extract from Bento da Fonseca: "Marañon conquered for Jesus Christ and the Portuguese Crown by the Priests of the Company of Jesus*, 1757[1]," *a document in the same Codex of the Evora Public Library as that in which the "Fritz MS." was found, is of interest.*

. . . . . .

Before proceeding to give a description of the Apostolic Conquests by the priests of the Company in this new world, it will be proper to take some notice of the district which God has set apart to them for their conquest. Inasmuch as God gave this continent to the two Crowns of Portugal and Spain by the discoveries above mentioned, the respective Sovereigns were careful forthwith to divide it between themselves along the sea-coast, and there fell to the share of Portugal all the coast of Brazil running from south to north from the R. de la Plata on the southern side as far as beyond the R. das Amazonas on the northern side. In course of time certain slight doubts came to be raised on the part of one and the other possessors. On the northern side a mark was set up in the river called Japoco, called also the Vicente Pinçon, which falls into the sea at the latitude 4° 13′ north, for a boundary between the Dominions of Portugal and Spain, in

[1] Publ. Libr. of Evora, Cod. CXV/2–14.

the time of His Catholic Majesty Charles V and Dom Sebastião, King of Portugal, and on the southern side there were more disputes which were set at rest by the Peace of Utrecht, whereby Portugal remained in possession of the Colony of Sacramento with its dependent territory, and on the northern side the same R. Japoco or Vicente Pinçon was accepted as the boundary of the Dominions of Portugal and France in the Colony still to-day in possession of France in Cayenne, as is set forth in the said Treaty of Utrecht.

About the year 1732 the Crown of Spain endeavoured to curtail the territory belonging to the Colony of Sacramento on the R. de la Plata, and this struggle lasted until 1750, when the Kings Dom Joãs V of Portugal and Don Fernando VI of Spain, made a Treaty for the settlement of the boundaries of the Colonies of Portugal and Spain, which was signed in Madrid on 13th January, 1750. In this Treaty are determined the boundaries of the two Crowns in America, not only along the sea-coast, but also along the interior districts, after the manner to which we shall presently call attention. By virtue of this Treaty Brazil extends from east to west from Cape St Augustine in Pernambuco, which is in longitude 344 degrees, to the R. Javary, which falls into the R. das Amazonas in longitude 307 degrees, an extent of 37 degrees, and from north to south, from the R. de Vicente Pinçon in latitude 4 degrees north, near Cayenne, to the stream which issues from the foot of the Monte de Castilhos Grandes on the sea-coast, close to the mouth of the R. de la Plata which lies in latitude 34 degrees south, an extent of 38 degrees.

The above-said Treaty abolished the demarcation of the meridional line which had been laid down in the Treaty of Tordesilhas dated 7th June, 1499. Portugal cedes to Spain whatever right she possessed to the Philippine Isles, the Colony of Sacramento, and the territory lying on the northern bank of the R. de la Plata, which belonged to her in accordance with the Treaty of Utrecht made in February, 1715, together with the lands occupied by the Portuguese on the northern bank of the R. das Amazonas, from the most westerly mouth of the R. Jupura to the west. Spain cedes to Portugal all the right which by the Treaty of Tordesilhas she could have in the lands possessed by the Portuguese in South America to the west, and cedes also all the lands and Settlements which she holds from the eastern bank of the R. Urugay from the R. Ybicay to the north, and all the eastern banks of the R. Guapurê. And that on the west cedes the banks of the R. das Amazonas on the southern side as far as the R. Javary, and on the northern side as far as the westernmost mouth of the R. Jupura.

LIST OF NAMES OF THE NATIVE TRIBES OF THE AMAZON, AND OF THE LOCALITIES MENTIONED IN FATHER SAMUEL FRITZ'S MISSIONARY LIFE AND JOURNEYINGS.

A. Native tribes of the Amazon.

Aguanos
Ancas
Andoas
Annalas
Arianas
Aysuares
Cablucos
Caivisanas
Calmapunas
Cammuris
Caripunas
Cavaches
Chamicuros
Chayiavitas
Cocamas
Condurises
Cuchivaras
Cununibos
Cuvaches
Encabellados
Engaibas
Gaes
Guaranaguas
Guareicus
Guayarises
Hicahnates
Hioniches
Icaguates
Jamcos
Jurimaguas
Manaves
Mapirinas
Maynas
Mayorunas
Muniches
Omaguas
Otanaves
Panos
Pararas
Payaguas
Pevas
Piris
Puiches
Quitos
Roamaynas
Rumos
Semigaes
Tapuyos
Taromas
Ticunas
Tiguianbates
Tupinambaranas
Tupinambas
Ucayales
Xeberos
Ybanomas
Yuracas

B. Names of localities[1].

Abácuri, R.
Amciavate
Apua, R.
Aranavate, R.
Archidona
Arupapate
Aunu, R.
Bobovaya, R.
Borja
Cafuri
Calmapunas
Canafia
Capucuy
Catoreara
Caudache, R.
Caxamarca
Chachapoyas
Chayiavitas
Chipatiti
Coca, R.
Cocamillas
Comuta
Corupá
Cuarapahiba
Cuari, R.
Cuatinavates
Cuchivaras, R.
Cururay, R.
Gixos
Gran Pará (Nostra Señora de Belem)
Guadelupe, Nostra Señora de, M.S.
Guallaga, M.S.
Guallaga, R.
Guapapate or Huapapate

[1] R. = river. M.S. = Spanish Missionary Station.

Guaricuru
Guayveni
Hambate
Ibarate
Jaen
Javacuara
Jeme, R.
Joaivate
Joete
Juaboni
Jucunga
Jupura, R.
Jurapa
Jurimaguas, new M.S. of the Jurimaguas
Jurucuate
Laguna, Pueblo de (Santiago). Head Mission of the Marañon
Lamistras
Las Bocas
Lima
Limoeiro
Loja
Luis de Marañon
Macuaya
Madeira, R.
Maracate
Marañon, R.
Matari, R.
Mayavara
Menebate
Miravite
Muniches
Nanay
Napo, R.
Negro, R.
Niebes, N. Señora de las. M.S. of the Jurimaguas
Paranapura, R.
Pastaza
Payanimo, R.
Pigia
Pongo
Pucutepachirú
Puerto de Napo
Quataran
Quar
Quemate
Quirimatate
Quito
San Joaquim, M.S. of the Omaguas
San Pablo, M.S.
San Pedro de Cafuri, M.S.
San Xavier de Bobonaza, M.S.
Santa Rosa, M.S.
Surnite
Tapintaneranete
Tavarate
Tiriri
Tocamuri
Trombetas, R.
Truxillo
Tucuti
Ucayali, M.S.
Ucayali, R.
Urubú, R.
Vate
Yatay, R.
Yavari, R.
Yurasute
Yurua, R.
Zuruite

INDEX

Abacuri, affluent of river Napo, 109
Achua, kind of Yuca wood for lances, 142
Acosta, Christoval de, Governor of Maranham, 129
Acuña, Christoval de, Spanish Jesuit, who was official historiographer of Teixeira's voyage from Quito to Pará, 33, 36, 39, 40, 41, 49, 51, 55, 67, 82, 120
Airiparu, Ybanoma chief, 107
Ajuricaba, Manáo chief, 42–3
Alabada, Eucharistic hymn, 140–1
Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, Antonio de, Governor of Maranham, 9, 66, 89, 101, 150
Alexander VI, Bull of, 87
Altamirano, Father Diego Francisco, visitor of the Province of Quito, 13, 90–9
Amazons, river of the (Amazon or Marañon), *passim*; floods on the, 50, 146; description of, 145–9
Amciavate, 78, 91
Andoas, native tribe, 117, 150
Andrade, Father Antonio de, Coronist, Portuguese missionary, 113, 114, 118, 123, 126, 130
Andrade, Father Luis de, Provincial S.J., 115
Andrade, João Gomez de, 35
Andre, Manuel, 64
Apeua, affluent of the Guallaga, 149
Aramaria, 96, 106
Arbitration, *see* Boundary Arbitration
Archidona, 17, 107, 108, 114ff., 130, 149
Arcos y Aveyra, duchess of, 54
Arianas, an Omagua tribe, 109, 139
Arimavana, Ybanoma chief, 63, 75
Arinas, Dr Diego de, Spanish officer, 104
Artieda, Father Andres de, Spanish Jesuit, who accompanied Teixeira's voyage from Quito, 35, 51
Audiencia Royal of Quito, 11, 20, 26, 30, 35, 59, 67, 84, 85, 89, 108, 119, 122, 125, 127, 148
Aunu, affluent of the Napo, 108
Aysuares, native tribe, *passim*
Barreiros, Father Joseph, Portuguese missionary, 71
Barreto, Ignacio de Rego, companion of Teixeira, explorer, 37
Barros, Braz de, Portuguese officer, 69
Bayan de Abreu, Captain Pedro, companion of Teixeira, 33
Berredo, Ignacio de Rego, Governor of Maranham, 37
Bibliothéque du Roi (Paris), 144, 148
Bobodilla, Father Gregorio, S.J. Mission Superior, 115, 129
Bobonaza, St Xavier de, mission station, 117
Bobovaya, affluent of the Amazon, 158
Bodleian Library, 37
Bohemia, 14, 24, 53, 131
Bollarte, Father, S.J. Spanish missionary, 19, 30, 115, 118, 119, 121, 125
Borja, San Francisco de, head mission station, 19, 27, 28, 30, 51, 109, 111, 118, 121, 122, 124, 126, 127, 147, 149
Boundary Arbitration, British Guiana-Brazil, 3, 42 *n.*, 43 *n.*
Bracamoros, 87, 136, 146, 149
Braganza, duke of, 68
Brentano, Father Carlos, S.J. Spanish missionary, 139
Breyer, Father Wenceslas, S.J. Spanish missionary, 14, 18, 22, 28, 103, 106, 117, 131
Burrago, Father Nicholas, S.J. Spanish missionary, 150

Cabapamas, native tribe, 119
Cablucos, native tribe, 49
Cadiz, 54
Cafuri, San Pedro de, mission station, 123, 125
Calmapunas, mission station, 150
Cambebas, Portuguese name for the Omaguas, 47, 150
Cammuris, native tribe, 91, 94–5, 99, 111, 114, 132, 139
Campos, Father Pedro de, S.J. Spanish missionary, 115

Canafia, 77
Cantos, Joseph de, Spanish officer, 119, 128, 130
Capo Verde, 87
Capuchin missionaries, 96
Capucuy, 108
Carabaina, Taroma chief, 73
Caribs, native tribe, 42, 93
Cariguaris, native tribe, 150
Caripunas, native tribe, 73, 97
Carmelite missionaries, 9, 14, 96, 101, 103, 107, 111, 123, 128, 151–2
Carruiraso, a volcano, 114
Castilhos Grandes, Monte de, 156
Catalan, Father Gaspar Vidal, Superior of Missions, 99
Catoreara, 78
Caudache, affluent of the Napo, 7, 8, 29, 114, 116
Cautimares, native tribe, 111
Cavaches, native tribe, 130
Cavauri, native tribe of traders, 93
Caxamarca, 26, 78, 146
Cayenne, 156
Cayvisanas, native tribe, 77, 103, 112, 132, 133
Chachapoyas, native tribe, 80, 146
Chamas, native tribe, 130
Chamicuros, native tribe, 82, 150
Charles V, the emperor, 88, 156
Chayiavitas, mission station, 150
China, 130
Chipatite, 78
Chiquito, affluent of the Amazon, 91
Chrysostom, 135
Cobos, Father, S.J. Spanish missionary, 18, 115, 116, 121, 122
Coca, affluent of the Napo, 108, 118
Cocamas, native tribe, 150
Cocamillas, native tribe, 122, 126
Comutá, 148
Copaca, 130
Coquité, 78
Correa, Ignacio, Portuguese captain, 19, 117, 119, 123, 130
Coronado, Father Luis, S.J. Portuguese missionary, 21, 130, 138
Corupá, Portuguese fortress, 66, 70
Costa, Bento da, Teixeira's chief pilot, 36
Costa Favella, Pedro de, officer in Teixeira's voyage, 38
Costa Freire, Christovaõ da, Governor of Maranham, 155
Crocodiles, 60–1, 146–7, 149
Cuari, affluent of the Amazon, 94
Cuatinavates, 77
Cuchivara, affluent of the Amazon, 63, 89
Cuchivaras, native tribe, 63, 64, 74, 132
Cueva, Father Luis de, S.J., 51
Cumuani, Tupinambarana chief, 64
Cununibos, native tribe, 15, 25, 78, 103, 104
Curapahiba, 71
Cururay, 109, 117
Cusco, 77

Da Maya da Gama, Joaõ, Governor of Maranham, 46
D'Anville, French cartographer, 144
De la Condamine, French scientist, 32, 41, 144, 148
Demarcation disputes between the Spanish and Portuguese on the Amazon, 4, 13, 31, 34, 36–8, 76, 81, 87–90, 102, 113, 119–121, 151, 156
Detre, Father Guillerme, S.J., 115
Devil or Demon, 48, 51, 55, 61–3
Durago, Father Nicolas, S.J. Spanish missionary, 117
Dutch of Guiana, 42, 43, 93

Earthquakes, 72–3, 104
Ega, 39
El Dorado, 77
Encabellados, native tribe, 33, 35, 154
Engaibas, native tribe, 66, 70
Espada, Sr Jimenez de, 36
Esperança, Father Manuel de la, Carmelite Provincial, Portuguese missionary, 14, 101, 151
Essequibo, river of Guiana, 9 *n.*, 42, 144 *n.*
Evora MS, *passim*; Archiepiscopal palace, 3; Bibliotheca Publica, 3, 4, 143 *n.*; Librarian, 1, 4, 4 *n.*

Ferdinand VI, King of Spain, 156
Ferreira, Antonio, Portuguese captain, 69
Figueira, Dr Sancho, Spanish bishop, 108
Figueira, Father Vittorio, S.J. Spanish missionary, 149
Fiscal Royal, 12, 26, 84–6
Fonseca, Father Antonio de, S.J. Portuguese missionary, 71
Fonseca, Bento de, Portuguese writer, 155
Fonseca, Joseph Antunes de, Portuguese officer, 100

Fritz, Father Samuel, S.J., *passim*; letters of—to Matthias Lagunes, Royal Fiscal, 82–84; to Father Diego Francisco Altamirano, visitor of the Province of Quito, 90–98; to Ignacio Correa, Portuguese officer, 119–121; journey of, to Pará and back, 63–78; journey of, to Lima and back, 79–90; journey of, to Quito and back (1701), 108–9; journey of, to Quito and back (1706–7), 115–6; loss of his Journal for 5 years and other papers, 110; serious illnesses of, 60 ff., 108, 115; miraculous powers ascribed to, 56–7, 62, 63, 71–2, 92, 96–7, 106

Gaes, native tribe, 82, 117
Garzoni, Father Juan Maria, Portuguese missionary, 64, 66, 69
Gayos, native tribe, 127
Germany, 135
Gitipas, San Xavier de, mission station, 150
Gixos, native tribe, 127
Gold, river of: *see* Ouro, Rio de
Gold, village of: *see* Ouro, Aldea de
Great Britain, 3
Guacurate, 78, 154
Guadelupe, Nuestra Señora de, mission station, 26, 27, 91, 99, 104, 105, 110
Guallaga, mission settlement, 20, 21, 22, 26, 30, 126, 128
Guallaga, tributary of the Amazon, 26, 78, 145, 149
Guanaca, 146, 149
Guanemajuccany, a native, 153
Guapapate, 75, 77
Guapuré, affluent of the Amazon, 156
Guaranaguas, natives of Upper Negro, 93, 97
Guareicus, native tribe, 83, 98, 112, 132
Guaricaya, Jurimagua name for the devil, 61
Guaricurú, 66
Guayarises, native tribe, 72
Guayeveni, 66, 75
Guedes, Manuel, 70

Hambate, 104
Henrique, Father Bernardo Nicolas, Priest-Vicar of Jaen, 136
Herrero, Father Juan Lorenzo, Mission Superior, 5, 52, 53
Hicahnates, native tribe, 117
Hioniches, native tribe, 150
Horstman, Dutch explorer, 144 *n.*
Huallaga: *see* Guallaga
Hupapate, 124, 125, 126
Hurtado, Father Augustin, S.J. Spanish missionary, 149

Inca language, 23
Indies, East, 136
Indies, Spanish, 37, 68, 131
Iturbirbe, Luis, Spanish officer, 122, 125

Jaen (or Xaen) de Bracamoros, 26, 78, 87, 131, 136, 145, 146, 149
Jaguamais, native tribe, 154
Jamcos, native tribe, 142
Japan, 21, 130
Jarapa, 20, 126, 127, 128
Jatai, affluent of the Amazon, 77, 98
Javacuara, 76
Javarari, 66
Javari, affluent of the Amazon, 66, 78, 156, 157
Jeme, affluent of the Amazon, 113
Jesuit College at Pará, 4, 8, 25, 66–7, 145; at Quito, 4, 5, 24, 36 *n.*, 131
Jesuit missionaries, *passim*
Jesus, Company of, 24, 47, 51, 82, 96, 131, 145, 149, 153, 155
Joaivate, 78, 91
Joaõ IV, King of Portugal, 37, 135
Joaõ VI, King of Portugal, 155
Joeté, or Yoeté, 78, 113
Juaboni, 63
Jucunga, 104
Judas, dangerous narrows on the Napo, 116
Julian, Father Juan Bapta, S.J. Spanish missionary, 130
Jupura, tributary of the Amazon, 9, 35, 40, 63, 74, 117, 122, 124, 156
Jurimaguas, customs and superstitions of the, 55–6, 60–3, 138–9
Jurimaguas, native tribe, *passim*
Jurua, or Yurua, affluent of the Amazon, 63, 75, 96, 111
Jurubetts, Yurubetts, Yurupaxi, Yurubex, 19, 40, 41, 63

Laguna, Pueblo de la, head mission of the Maynas district, *passim*
Lagunes, Dr Matthias, Fiscal Royal at Lima, 84, 86
Lamistras, native tribe, 139
Las Bocas, 70

Lasso, Father Matthias, S.J. Spanish missionary, 115, 121
Lauricocha, lake of, source of the Amazon, 146, 149
Lengua General, 47
Lima, 11, 17, 25, 26, 51, 78, 80, 87, 90, 99, 114, 115, 130, 132, 136
Limoero, 70
Lisbon, 8, 9, 14, 21, 25, 36, 37 *n.*, 38, 44, 68, 101, 120, 129; treaty of, 87, 88
Loja, 104
Luca, Father Juan Justo, Portuguese missionary, 70
Luz, Father Juan de, Portuguese missionary, 123, 125

Madeira, tributary of the Amazon, 72, 96
Madrid, 14, 17, 21, 34 *n.*, 68, 114, 135, 155
Maho, affluent of Rio Branco, 145 *n.*
Mainaya, 94
Mamelucos, Portuguese name for half-breeds, 69, 114, 128
Manáos, city of, 9 *n.*
Manaves, or Manáos, tribe of native traders from the Rio Negro, 7, 40–3, 62–3, 77
Manoa, Golden city on Lake Parima, 42
Mapirinas, native tribe, 139
Maps of Father Samuel Fritz, 6, 7, 25, 58, 83, 87, 143–150
Maranham, Governor of, 8, 25, 150, 155
Marañon, native name for the Amazon, *passim*
Marapata, bay of, 69
Markham, Sir Clements, 3 *n.*, 143
Matari, affluent of the Amazon, 72
Mativa, Jurimagua chief, 61, 75, 103, 106, 107, 153, 154
Matono, a one-eyed cripple, 75
Matthias, Father, 18, 115, 116
Mattos-Cutrim, Major Felipe, one of Teixeira's officers, 35, 38
Mayavara, 76, 77
Maynas, Province of, 6, 82, 99, 108, 149
Mayobamba, 26, 80, 102, 124, 127, 139, 145
Mayorunas, native tribe, 91, 132, 139
Meauris, Father Ignacio, S.J. visitor of missions, 131
Menebate, 78
Mercenarian missionaries, 8, 9, 64–5, 71–3, 96
Merloves, Father Xavier, Portuguese missionary, 118
Miranda y Noronha, Antonio de, Portuguese officer, 10, 69, 94, 152, 154
Miravite, 77, 126
Moncobla, Conde de, Viceroy of Peru, 12, 78, 126
Monso de Borja, Dr, Spanish officer, 99
Moravisaba, native name for Portuguese Governor, 92
Muniches, native tribe, 82, 126, 139

Nanay, 130
Napo, tributary of the Amazon, *passim*
Napos, native tribe, 107
Narvaes, Father Juan de, S.J., engraver of Fritz's map of 1707, 6, 25 *n.*, 58, 145
Noronha, Father José Monteiro de, 21
Nuestra Señora de las Niebes, Jurimagua mission station, 7, 10, 14, 59, 63

Oas, native tribe, 107
Oliveira, Colonel Bento Rodriguez de, one of Teixeira's officers, 35
Omaguas, native tribe, *passim*; customs and superstitions, 47–51, 55
Oporto, municipal library of, 34, 41
Orellana, early name of the Amazon, 60, 149
Orinoco, river, 42, 93, 97, 98
Ornavia, birth-place of Samuel Fritz, 24, 131
Ornela, Ambrosio and Leandro, Portuguese officers, 112, 113
Oro, Rio del, 35–6
Ostalche, rapid in Upper Amazon, 147
Otanaves, native tribe, 82, 150
Ouro, Aldea de, 37, 67, 89, 120
Ouro, Rio de, 34, 36, 37, 41
Oviedo, Antonio, Spanish officer, 122, 124, 125

Pachomius, Egyptian monk, 11, 80
Pailleta, Francisco, Portuguese soldier, 69
Pajorales, native tribe, 93
Palacios, Captain Juan de, Spanish officer, 3
Panos, Indian tribe, 82, 100
Pará, city of Gran (Belem), *passim*
Paranapura, affluent of Upper Amazon, 2, 6, 78, 145, 150
Parima, Golden Lake of, 41

Pastaña, Manuel, a Portuguese, 64
Pastaza, 117, 149
Patate, 109
Payaguas, native tribe, 111, 130
Payanimo, affluent of the Napo, 108
Payoreva, Omagua chief, 16, 28, 29, 110–2, 113–4, 130
Perez, Father Domingo, S.J. Spanish missionary, 114, 128
Pernambuco, 155
Pevas, native tribe, 83, 91, 99, 100, 132, 139, 150
Philip IV, 34, 35, 51, 68, 120
Philip V, 145, 148
Philippines, 156
Pigia, 148
Piñero, Captain-Major Andres, Portuguese officer, 64–5, 69
Piris, native tribe, 103
Piros, Father Henrique Pictaron, S.J. Spanish missionary, 109
Pizarro, Gonzales, 82
Plata, Rio de la, 155, 156
Pombal, Marquis de, Portuguese statesman, 4
Pongo, narrows of the, 26, 87, 145, 149
Portugal, 3, 8, 21, 136, 155
Portuguese documents (Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa), 1, 36, 37 *n.*, 38, 41, 150
Portuguese raids on Spanish missions, 8, 17, 18, 19, 20, 27, 29, 30, 63, 89, 90, 96, 100–3, 112–3, 119, 123–5, 126, 129–56
Puiches, native tribe, 150
Purianos, native tribe, 111
Putumayo, tributary of the Amazon, 111

Quar, 113
Quemate, 78
Quirimatate, 66, 75
Quito, city of, *passim*
Quitos, native tribe, 139

Ralegh, Sir Walter, 42
Resgates, tropas de, 96
Ribeiro de Sampaio, Portuguese chief magistrate of the Rio Negro, 32, 42, 43
Richter, Father Henrique, S.J. Spanish missionary, 26, 78, 103
Rio Branco, affluent of the Rio Negro, 144 *n.*
Rio de la Plata, 88, 156
Rioja, Balthazar de, Spanish commander at Borja, 121
Rio Negro, tributary of the Amazon, 6, 8, 9, 31, 41, 42, 43, 47, 57, 64–5, 73–4, 89, 90, 93, 95, 96, 97, 101, 124, 146, 148, 151–2, 154
Roamaynas, native tribe, 82, 149, 150
Rodrigues, Father Manuel, historian, 52
Rodriguez, Joseph, Portuguese messenger, 121
Rome, 17, 40, 119, 135
Rosa, Miguel, Portuguese magistrate, 66
Rumos, Great, native tribe, 109
Rupununi, river in Guiana, 144 *n.*

Sacramento, colony of, 120, 156, 157
Saldaña, Fernando, Spanish officer, 122, 127
Sa de Meneses, Antonio, Governor of Maranham, 66
St Augustine, Cape, 156
Samiria, a lagoon, 126
San Antonio, one of the Cape Verde islands, 88
San Antonio de Padua, mission station of the Muniches, 139
San Gabriel, an island, 88
San Ignacio, a mission station, 100
San Joaquim, mission station of the Omaguas, *passim*
San Juan Francisco Regis, mission station, 139
San Luis de Maranham, city of, seat of the Portuguese Government, 65, 146
San Pablo, mission station, 26, 27, 91, 99, 100, 110, 111, 122, 125, 126, 128, 129, 155
Santa Cruz, Father Raymondo de, S.J. Spanish missionary, 150
Santa Maria Maior, statue of, 117
Santa Rosa, mission station, 107, 108, 116, 117
Sardinia, 114
Sea-cow, *vaca marina*, 61, 146, 149
Sebastian, King of Portugal, 43, 156
Sebastianists, 43
Semigaes, native tribe, 118, 150
Seminaries, for boys and girls at the Omagua mission settlement on the Ucayali, 139–142
Servela, Father Pedro, S.J. Spanish missionary, 89, 115, 118
Sierra, Father Francisco, visitor of the missions, 128
Silva, Father Antonio de, Portuguese missionary, 88
Silva, Joseph de, Portuguese soldier, 65

Silva, Manuel de, Portuguese sculptor, 117
Sivemative, Indian chief, 102
Snakes of the Amazon, 146–7
Soldariega, Father Juan de, S.J. Spanish missionary, 115
Solimões, Portuguese name for Upper Amazon, 153, 155
Spain, 5, 31, 90, 119, 120, 129, 136, 156
Spain, New, 84
Suarez, Father Pedro, S.J. Spanish missionary, 149
Surinam, 62
Surnite, 123

Tacuti, 78
Taiavate, 113
Taicorema, Omagua chief, 130
Tapintaneranete, 146
Tapuyos, native tribe, 50, 71
Taromas, native tribe, 9, 9 *n.*, 64, 71, 75, 83, 95, 124
Tavan, Father Juan, Provincial, 118
Tavarate, 113
Teffe, affluent of the Amazon, 39
Teixeira, Pedro, Portuguese Captain-Major, in command of the expedition, which ascended the Amazon from Pará to Quito, and returned from Quito to Pará (1637–9), 32–9, 42, 67, 89, 119, 153; his *Act of Possession*, 32, 34–35, 153
Tepaitini, a small river, 99
Tibilos, native tribe, 150
Ticunas, native tribe, 99, 100, 110, 113
Tigueroa, Father Francisco, S.J. Spanish missionary, 51
Tiguianbates, native tribe, 122
Tiriri, hill on the Napo, 109
Tocantins, affluent of the Amazon, 69
Topajos, affluent of the Amazon, 71, 148
Tordesillas, Treaty of, 87, 88, 156
Trombetas, affluent of the Amazon, 71, 148
Truxillo, 26, 80
Tupinambaranas, native tribe, 64, 71, 72
Tupinambas, native tribe, 47
Turtles, 146, 149

Uapes, affluent of the Upper Rio Negro, 41 *n.*
Ucayali, tributary of the Amazon, 21, 30, 103, 104, 149; mission station, 21, 22, 30, 128, 129, 130, 138
Urugay, river, 157
Urubú, affluent of the Amazon, 70, 74
Urubú, Portuguese mission station, 8, 9, 24, 64, 71
Utrecht, Treaty of, 156, 157

Vaca de la Vega, Dr Geronimo, Governor of Maynas, 78
Vasque, Father Stanilas, S.J. Spanish missionary, 20
Vate, 77, 91
Vegas, Father Theodosio, a Mercenarian, Portuguese missionary at Urubú, 8, 9, 64–5, 71–3
Veruai, affluent of the Amazon, 99
Vicente Pinçon, river, 88, 89, 90, 156
Vidra, Father Francisco, S.J. Spanish missionary, 14, 21, 29, 30, 103, 104, 129
Viva, Father Francisco, S.J. Mission Superior, 53, 78

Wenceslas, Father, S.J.: *see* Breyer

Xacu, 78, 87
Xavier, 135
Xeberos, native tribe and mission station, 21, 22, 27, 30, 50, 78, 82, 98, 122, 124, 127, 129, 132, 150
Xexenes, minute mosquitos, 108, 126
Ximenes, Father Joseph, S.J. Spanish missionary, 20, 30, 115, 128, 138

Yatai: *see* Jatai
Yavari: *see* Javari
Ybanomas, native tribe, *passim*
Ycuaguates, native tribe, 130, 139
Yocuzurite, 124, 125
Yoeté: *see* Joeté
Yoicay, affluent of the Amazon, 157
Yquari, native name of Rio Negro, 38, 40, 41, 63, 148
Yuca, plant, 49, 142
Yufilas, native tribe, 102
Yuracas, native tribe, 150
Yurasute, 78

Zaldarriaga, Father Juan de, S.J. Spanish missionary, 21, 130, 138
Zumi-Topana, Omagua name for the Deity, 51
Zurmullen, Father Bernardo, S.J. Spanish missionary, 130, 138
Zuruite, 113, 124, 125

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(Vol. II, III = No. 35, 45, 46.)

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(Vols. I-III, V = Nos. 23-25, 40.)

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INDEX

TO THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS, 1874-1921.

Abd-er-Razzak, i. 22
Abyssinia, i. 32, 64; ii. 10
Acosta, Joseph de, i. 60, 61
Acuña, Cristoval de, i. 24; ii. 22
Adams, Will., i. 8, 66, 67; ii. 5
Africa, i. 21, 58, 82, 83, 92-94, 95, 100
Africa, East, i. 32, 35, 64; ii. 10, 44
Africa, West, ii. 6
Aguirre, Lope de, i. 28, 47
Alaminos Anton de, ii. 23
Albuquerque, Affonso de, i, 53, 55, 62, 69
Alcock, Thomas, i. 72, 73
Alessandri, Vincentio d,' i. 49
Al Hassan Ibn Muhammad. *See* Hasan
Alvarado, Pedro de, ii. 23
Alvarez, Francisco, i. 64
Alvo, Francisco, i. 52
Amapaïa, i. 3
Amat ye Junient, Manuel de, Viceroy of Peru, ii. 13
Amazon, i. 24; ii. 51
America, Central, i. 40
America, North, i. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 18, 21, 23, 43, 50, 65, 96, 97
America, South, i. 3, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 41, 43, 45, 47, 51, 60, 61, 68, 76, 77, 80, 81, 91; ii. 3, 13, 14, 15, 22
Amherst of Hackney, Lord, ii, 7, 8
Andagoya, Pascual de, i. 34; ii. 22
Andrew, Bishop of Zayton, i. 36; ii. 37
Angiolello, Giovanni Maria, i. 49
Angola, ii. 6
Aquines, Juan. *See* Hawkins, Sir John
Arabia, i. 32; ii. 16
Arctic Regions, i. 13, 54, 88, 89, 96, 97
Arias, Dr. Juan Luis, i. 25; ii. 14, 15
Arias d'Avila, Pedro, i. 21, 34, 47; ii. 22, 23
Arriaga y Rivera, Julian de, ii. 13
Arromaia, i. 3
Asher, George Michael, i. 27
Asia, i. 5, 8, 13-15, 17, 19, 22, 26, 35-39, 42, 44, 49, 53-55, 58, 62, 66, 67, 69-78, 80, 82, 83, 87; ii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 16, 17, 35
Astete, Miguel de, i. 47; ii. 22, 35
Atahualpa, i. 47, 68; ii. 22
Australasia, i. 25; ii. 7, 8, 14, 15, 18
Avila, Francisco de, i. 48; ii. 22
Avila, Pedro Arias d'. *See* Arias d'Avila
Azov, i. 49
Azurara, Gomes Eannes de. *See* Eannes.

Badger, George Percy, i. 32, 44
Baffin, William, i. 5, 63, 88, 89
Balak, John, i. 13, 54
Bantam, i. 19
Barbaro, Giosafat, i. 49
Barbosa, Duarte, i. 35, 52, ii. 44, 49
Barcelona MSS., i. 35
Bardsen, Ivar, i. 50
Barentsz., William, i. 13, 27, 54
Barker, Edmund, i. 56
Barlow, R., i. 74, 75, 78
Barrow, John, F.R.S., i. 11
Battell, Andrew, ii. 6
Beazley, Charles Raymond, i. 95, 100; Extra Ser. 13
Behrens, Carl Friedrich, ii. 13
Beke, Charles Tilstone, i. 13, 54
Bell, Harry Charles Purvis, i. 76, 77, 80
Belmonte y Bermudez, Luis de ii. 14, 15
Bengal, i. 37, 74, 75, 78; ii. 12
Bent, James Theodore, i. 87
Benzoni, Girolamo, i. 21
Bermudas, i. 65, 86
Bermudez, Joaõ, ii. 10
Beste, George, i. 38
Béthencourt, Jean de, i. 46; ii. 21

Bethune, Charles Ramsay Drinkwater, i. 1, 30
Beynen, Koolemans, i. 54
Biedma, Luis Hernandez de, i. 9
Bilot, Robert, i. 88, 89
Birch, Walter de Gray, i. 53, 55, 62, 69
Bollaert, William, i. 28
Bond, Sir Edward Augustus, K.C.B., i. 20
Bontier, Pierre, i. 46; ii. 21
Boty, Iver, i. 13
Bowrey, Thomas, ii. 12
Bracciolini, Poggio, i. 22
Brazil, i. 51, 76, 77, 80
Bridge, Admiral Sir Cyprian Arthur George, G.C.B., ii. 13
British Guiana, ii. 26, 27
British Museum MSS., i. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16, 20, 25, 38, 52, 53, 55, 62, 65-67, 69; ii. 13, 16, 22
Brown, Dr. Robert, i. 92-94
Brugge, Jacob Segersz. van der. *See* Segersz, Jacob.
Bruun, Philip, i. 58
Burnell, Arthur Coke, C.I.E., i. 70, 71
Burre, Walter, i. 19
Burrough, Christopher, i. 72, 73
Burrough William, i. 72, 73
Burton, Sir Richard Francis, K.C.M.G., i. 51
Butler, Nathaniel, i. 65, 86
Button, Sir Thomas, i. 5, 88, 89
Bylot, Robert, i. 5, 63, 88, 89

Cabeça de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez. *See* Nuñez Cabeça, de Vaca.
Cabot, John, i. 86
Cabot, Sebastian, i. 5, 12
Cambodia, i. 39
Canarian, The, i. 46; ii. 21
Canary Islands, i. 21, 46; ii. 21
Candelaria, Our Lady of, ii. 21
Cape of Good Hope, i. 22, 36, 37, 82, 83
Carmont, Elizabeth, Extra Ser. 12
Carpino Joannes, de Plano. *See* Joannes.
Caspian Sea, i. 72, 73
Cassano, Ussan, i. 49
Castanhoso, Miguel de, ii. 10
Castilla del Oro, i. 34, 47
Cathay, i. 5, 13, 36-38, 54; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37, 38, 41
Champlain, Samuel, i. 23
Chanca, Dr., i. 2, 43
Charles V., Emperor, i. 40, 47; ii. 22, 23, 24
Charnock, Job, i. 74, 75, 78
Cheinie, Richard, i. 72, 73
China, i. 5, 13-15, 17, 36, 37, 39, 54; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37
Christy, Robert Miller, i. 88, 89
Cieza de Leon, Pedro de, i. 33, 68; ii. 22, 31, 42
Cinnamon, Land of, i. 24
Clavigo, Ruy Gonzalez de. *See* Gonzalez de Clavigo.
Cliffe, Edward, i. 16
Clifford, George, i. 59
Coats, William, i. 11
Cocks, Richard, i. 8, 66, 67
Cogswell, Joseph G., i. 27
Collinson, Sir Richard, K.C.B., i. 38
Columbus, Christopher:
  Journal, i. 86
  Letters, i. 2, 43
Congo, ii. 6
Contarini, Ambrogio, i. 49
Conti, Nicolò, i. 22
Conway, Sir William Martin, ii. 11
Cooley, William Desborough, i. 4
Cook, Captain James, i. 25
Coote, Charles Henry, i. 72, 73
Cordier, Henri, ii. 33, 37, 38, 41
Corney, Bolton, i. 19
Corney, Bolton Glanvill, I.S.O., ii. 13, 32, 36, 43
Correa, Gaspar, i. 42
Corte Real, Gaspar, i. 86
Cortés, Hernando, i., 21, 40; ii. 23, 24, 25
Cosmas, Indicopleustes, i. 98
Covel, John, i. 87
Crosse, Ralph, i. 56
Crooke, William, ii. 19, 20
Cumberland, Earl of, i. 59
Cuzco, i. 47; ii. 22

Dalboquerque, Afonso. *See* Albuquerque.
Dallam, Thomas, i. 87
Dalrymple, Alexander, i. 25; ii. 14, 15
Dames, Mansel Longworth, ii. 44, 49
Dampier, William, i. 25
Danish Arctic Expeditions, i. 96, 97
Darien, Gulf of, i. 33
Dati, Giuliano, i. 2, 43
Davila, Pedrarias. *See* Arias d'Avila
Davis, Edward, ii. 13
Davis, John, i. 5, 59, 88, 89

De Villiers, John Abraham Jacob, ii. 11, 18, 26, 27
Díaz, Juan, *Clerigo*, ii. 23
Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, ii, 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Digges, Sir Dudley, i. 63
Dominguez, Don Luis L., i. 81
Donck, Adrian van der, i. 27
Dorado, El, i. 3, 28; ii, 26, 27
Doughty, Thomas, i. 16
Downton, Nicholas, i. 56
Drake, Sir Francis, i. 4, 16; ii. 34
Drake, Sir Francis, the Younger, i. 16
Drake, John, ii. 34
Dryandri, Joh., i. 51
Ducket, Jeffrey, i. 72, 73
Dudley, Sir Robert, ii. 3
Dutch Voyages, i. 13; ii. 11, 13, 18

East India, ii. 19, 20, 39
East India Company, i. 5, 19
East Indies. *See* India.
Easter Island, ii. 13
Eannes, Gomes, de Zurara, i. 95, 100
Egerton MSS., ii. 13
Eden, Richard, i. 12
Edmundson, Rev. Dr. G., ii. 51
Edwards, Arthur, i. 72, 73
Egypt, i. 32
El Dorado, i. 3, 28; ii, 26, 27
Ellesmere, Earl of, i. 17
Elvas, Gentleman of, i. 9
Emeria, i. 3
England, Circumnavigation of, i. 79
Engronelanda, i. 50
Enriquez de Guzman, Alonzo, i. 29
Eslanda, i. 50
Espinosa, Alonso, de, ii. 21
Estotilanda, i. 50
Ethiopia. *See* Abyssinia.
Europe, i. 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 49, 54, 58, 64, 72, 73, 79; ii. 9, 11, 17

Ferguson, Donald William, ii. 9
Fernandez de Quiros, Pedro de. *See* Quiros.
Figueroa, Christoval Suarez de. *See* Suarez de Figueroa.
Fletcher, Francis, i. 16
Fletcher, Giles, i. 20
Florida, i. 7, 9
Fort St. George, i. 74, 75, 78
Foster, William, B.A., ii. 1, 2, 16
Fotherby, Robert, i. 63
Fox, Luke, i. 5, 88, 89
Foxe, Luke. *See* Fox.
Frislanda, i. 50
Fritz, Father Samuel, ii. 51
Frobisher, Sir Martin, i. 5, 38, 88, 89
Fryer, John, ii. 19, 20, 39
Furnace, H.M.S., i. 11

Gairdner, James, i. 79
Galvão, Antonio, i. 30
Gama, Christovão da, ii. 10
Gama, Vasco da, i. 42, 99
Gamboa, Pedro Sarmiento de. *See* Sarmiento de Gamboa.
García, Genaro, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30
Garcilasso de la Vega, *el Inca*, i. 24, 41, 45; ii. 22
Gastaldi, Jacopo, i. 12
Gatonbe, John, i. 63
Gayangos, Pascual de, i. 40; ii. 22
Gerritsz., Hessel, i. 27, 54; ii. 11
Gibbons, William, i. 5, 88, 89
Gibraltar, Straits of, i. 79
Globes, i. 79
God's Power & Providence, i. 18
Goes, Benedict, i. 36, 37
Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy, i. 26; ii. 21
González y Haedo, Felipe, ii. 13
Goodenough, Lady, ii. 47, 50
Gosch, Christian Carl August, i. 96, 97
Gray, Sir Albert, K.C.B., K.C., i. 76, 77, 80
Great Mogul, ii. 1, 2
Greenland, i. 18, 50, 96, 97
Grey, Charles, i. 49
Grey, Edward, i. 84, 85
Grijalva, Juan de, ii. 23
Grimston, Edward. *See* Grimstone.
Grimstone, Edward, i. 60, 61
Gaunches, ii. 21
Guiana, i. 3
Guinea, i. 95, 100; ii. 6

Hackit, Thomas, i. 7
Hakluyt, Richard:
  Divers Voyages, i. 7
  Galvano, i. 30
  Principall Navigations, i. 16, 20, 38, 59; Extra Ser., 1-12
  Terra Florida, i. 9
  Will of, i. 7
Hall, James, i. 5, 88, 89, 96, 97
Harleian MSS., i, 8
Harris, C. A., ii. 26, 27
Hasan Ibn Muhammad, al Wazzān, al Fāsi, i. 92-94
Havers, George, i. 84, 85

Hawkins, Sir John, i. 1, 57
Hawkins, Sir Richard, i. 1, 57
Hawkins, William, i. 57
Hawkridge, William, i. 88, 89
Hedges, Sir William, i. 74, 75, 78
Heidelberg MS., i. 58
Herberstein, Sigismund von, i. 10, 12
Hernandez de Biedma, Luis, i. 9
Herrera, Antonio de, i. 24; ii. 22, 23
Hervé, Juan, ii. 13
Honduras, i. 40
Horsey, Sir Jerome, i. 20
Houtman's Abrolhos, i. 25
Howard, Eliot, ii. 12
Hudson, Henry, i. 13, 27, 88, 89
Hudson's Bay, i. 11, 96, 97
Hues, Robert, i. 79
Hugli River, i, 78; ii. 12

Ibn Batuta, i. 36, 37
Icaria, i. 50
Imâms and Seyyids of 'Omân, i. 44
Incas, i. 41, 45, 47, 48; ii. 22
Incas, Rites and Laws, i. 48; ii. 22
Incas, Royal Commentaries, i. 41, 45; ii. 22
India, i. 5, 22, 32 38, 42, 53, 55, 56, 62, 69, 70, 71, 74-78, 80, 84, 85; ii. 1, 2, 9, 12, 16, 17
India Office MSS., i. 5, 56, 66, 67
Indian Language, Dictionarie of the, i. 6
Italy, ii. 9

James I., i. 19
James, Thomas, i. 5, 88, 89
Janes, John, i. 59
Japan, i. 8, 39, 66, 67; ii. 5
Java, i. 82, 83
Jeannin, P., i. 27
Jenkinson, Anthony, i. 72, 73
Joannes, de Plano Carpino, ii. 4; Extra Ser. 13
Jones, John Winter, i. 7, 22, 32
Jordanus [Catalani], i. 31, 36; ii. 37
Jourdain John, ii. 16
Jovius, Paulus, i. 12
Juet, Robert, i. 27

Keeling, William, i. 56
Knight, John, i. 5, 56, 88, 89

Lambrechtsen, i. 27
Lancaster, Sir James, i. 56
La Peyrère, Isaac de, i. 18
La Plata, City, i. 33
La Plata, River, i. 81
Lefroy, Sir John Henry, K.C.M.G., i. 65, 86
Leguat, François, i. 82, 83
Le Maire, Jacob, ii. 18
Lendas da India, i. 42
Leo Africanus, i. 92-94
Leone, Giovanni, i. 92-94
Leupe, P. A., i. 25
Levant, i. 87
Le Verrier, Jean, i. 46; ii. 21
Leza, Gaspar Gonzalez de, i. 39; ii. 14, 15
Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van, i. 70, 71

McCrindle, John Watson, i. 89
Madras, i. 74, 75, 78
Madrid MSS., i. 29
Magellan, Ferdinand, i. 52
Magellan, Straits, i. 91; ii. 18
Major, Richard Henry, i. 2, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 25, 43, 46, 50
Malay Archipelago, ii. 16, 18
Malabar, i. 35, ii. 44
Maldive Islands, i. 76, 77, 80
Maluco Islands. *See* Molucca Islands.
Manoa, i. 3
Marignolli, John de', i. 37; ii. 37
Markham, Sir Albert Hastings, K.C.B., i. 59
Markham, Sir Clements Robert, K.C.B., i. 24, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 41, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 68, 79, 86, 90 91; ii. 14, 15, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 42
Martens, Friedrich, i. 18
Maudslay, Alfred Percival, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Mauritius, i. 82, 83
Maynarde, Thomas, i. 4
Means, Philip Ainsworth, ii. 48
Mendaña de Neyra, Alvaro, i. 25, 39; ii. 7, 8, 14, 15
Mendoza, Juan Gonzalez de, i. 14, 15
Mexico, i. 23; ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Michon, Marie, Extra Ser., 12, 33
Middleton, Christopher, i. 11
Middleton, Sir Henry, i. 19, 56
Mirabilia Descripta, i. 31
Mogul, The Great, ii. 1, 2
Molucca Islands, i. 19, 39, 52, 76, 77, 80
Molyneux, Emery, i. 79

Montecorvino, John of, i. 36; ii. 37
Montesinos, Fernando, ii. 48
Montezuma, i. 61; ii. 23, 24
Morga, Antonio de, i. 39; ii. 14, 15
Morgan, Henry, i. 59
Morgan, Edward Delmar, i. 72, 73, 79, 83, 86
Mundy, Peter, ii. 17, 35, 45, 46
Munk, Jens, i. 96, 97
Münster, Sebastian, i. 12
Muntaner, ii. 47, 50
Muscovy Company, i. 7, 63; ii. 11

Neumann, Karl Friedrich, i. 58
New Hebrides, ii. 14, 15
New Spain, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
New World, i. 2, 43
Nicaragua, i. 34
Nicopolis, i. 58
Nikitin, Athanasius, i. 22
Nombre de Dios, i. 16
Norsemen in America, i. 2, 50
North-East Voyages, i. 13
North-West Passage, i. 5, 11, 38, 56, 88, 89, 96, 97
Northern Seas, i. 50
Nova Zembla, i. 13, 54
Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, Alvar, i. 81
Nuttall, Mrs. Zelia, ii. 34

Ocampo, Baltasar de, ii. 22
Odoric, Friar, i. 36; ii. 33
Olaondo, Alberto, ii. 13
Olid, Cristóval de, ii. 23
Oliver, Samuel Pasfield, i. 82, 83
Omagua, i. 28
'Omân, i. 44
Ondegardo, Polo de, i. 48; ii. 22
Orellana, Francisco de, i. 24
Orléans, Pierre Joseph d', i. 17
Ormuz, Kings of, ii. 9
Oviedo, Gabriel de, ii. 22

Pachacamac, i. 47; ii. 22
Pacific Ocean, i. 1, 34, 57; ii. 13, 18
Paraguay, River, i. 81
Parke, Robert, i. 14, 15
Pascal of Vittoria, i. 36; ii. 37
Pegolotti, i. 37; ii. 37
Pellham, Edward, i. 18
Pelsart, Francis, i. 25
Pereira, Thomas, i. 17
Persia, i. 32, 49, 72, 73; ii. 19, 20, 39
Peru, i. 33, 34, 41, 45, 47, 60, 61, 68; ii. 22, 48
Peru, Chronicle of, i. 33, 68
Philip, William, i. 13, 54
Philippine Islands, i. 39
Pigafetta, Antonio, i. 52
Pitt Diamond, i. 78
Pitt, Thomas, i. 74, 75, 78
Pizarro, Francisco, i. 27, 47; ii. 22
Pizarro, Gonzalo, i. 21, 24, 47; ii. 22
Pizarro, Hernando, i. 47; ii. 22
Pochahontas, i. 6
Pool, Gerrit Thomasz., i. 25
Portugal, i. 64; ii. 10
Pory, John, i. 92-94
Powhatan, i. 6
Prado y Tovar, Don Diego de, ii. 14, 15
Prestage, Edgar, i. 95, 100
Prester, John, i. 64; ii. 10
Pricket Abacuk, i. 27
Public Record Office MSS., i. 38
Puerto Rico, i. 4
Purchas, Samuel, i. 13, 56, 63; Extra Ser. 14-33
Pyrard, François, i. 76, 77, 80

Quatremère, i. 22
Quiros, Pedro Fernandez de, i. 25, 39; ii. 14, 15
Quito, The War of, ii. 31

Raleigh, Sir Walter, i. 3
Raleigh Walter, *Professor*, Extra Ser. 12
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista, i. 49 52
Rashiduddin, i. 37; ii. 37
Ravenstein, Ernest George, i. 99 ii. 6
Rawlinson MSS., ii. 17
Recueil de Voyages, i. 31
Remón, Alonzo, ii. 23
Ribault, John, i. 7
Rockhill, William Woodville, ii. 4
Rodriguez, Island, i. 82, 83
Roe, Sir Thomas, ii. 1, 2
Roggeveen, Jacob, ii. 13
Roy, Eugene Armand, i. 49
Rubruquis, Gulielmus de, ii. 4; Extra Ser. 13
Rundall, Thomas, i. 5, 8
Russe Commonwealth, i. 20
Russia, i. 10, 12, 20, 72, 73
Rye, William Brenchley, i. 9

Salīl-Ibn-Ruzaik, i. 44
Samarcand, i. 26
Sancho, Pedro, i. 47 ; ii. 22
Santo-Stefano, Hieronimo di, i. 22
Saris, John, i. 8 ; ii. 5
Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro, i. 91 ; ii. 22, 34
Satow, Sir Ernest Mason, G.C.M.G., ii. 5
Schiltberger, Johann, i. 58
Schmidel, Ulrich, i. 81
Schmidt, Ulrich. *See* Schmidel.
Schomburgk, Sir Robert Hermann, i. 3
Schouten, Willem Cornelisz., ii. 18
Scory, Sir Edmund, ii. 21
Seaman's Secrets, i. 59
Segersz., Jacob, ii. 11
Sellman, Edward, i. 38
Shakspere's "New Map," i. 59
Sharpeigh, Alexander, i. 56
Shaw, Norton, i. 23
Siam, i. 39
Silva, Nuño da, ii. 34
Simon, Pedro, i. 28
Sinclair, William Frederic, ii. 9
Sloane MSS., i. 25, 65 ; ii. 16
Smith, Capt. John, i. 65, 86
Smith, Sir Thomas, i. 19, 63, 65
Smyth, William Henry, i. 21
Solomon Islands, ii. 7, 8, 14, 15
Soltania, Archbishop of, i. 36 ; ii. 37
Somers, Sir George, i. 65
Soto, Ferdinando de, i. 9, 47
Soulsby, Basil Harrington, ii. 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18
Sousa Tavares, Francisco de, i. 30
South Sea. *See* Pacific Ocean.
Spanish MSS., i. 29, 48
Spanish Voyages, i. 25, 39 ; ii. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15
Speilbergen, Joris van, ii. 18
Spitsbergen, i. 13, 18, 54 ; ii, 11
Staden, Johann von, i. 51
Stanley of Alderley, Lord, i. 35, 39, 42, 52, 64
Staunton, Sir George Thomas, Bart., i. 14, 15
Stere, William, i. 13
Storm van 's Gravesande, ii. 26, 27
Strachey, William, i. 6
Suarez de Figueroa, Christoval, i. 57; ii. 14, 15
Summer Islands, i. 65, 86
Syria, i. 32
Tabasco, ii. 23
Tahiti, ii. 13, 32, 36, 43
Tamerlane, The Great, i. 26
Tana (Azov), i. 49
Tapía, Andrés de, ii. 23
Tartary, i. 17 ; ii. 1, 2, 4
Tavares, Francisco de Sousa. *See* Sousa Tavares, F. de.
Teixeira, Pedro, ii. 9
Telfer, John Buchan, i. 58
Temple, Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., ii. 12, 17, 35, 45, 46
Tenerife, ii. 21
Terra Australis, i. 25
Terra Florida, i. 9
Thomas, William, i. 49
Thompson, Sir Edward Maunde, K.C.B., i. 66. 67
Thomson, Basil Home, ii. 7, 8
Thorne, Robert, i. 7
Tibet, i. 36, 37 ; ii. 33
Tiele, Pieter Anton, i. 70, 71
Tierra Firme, i. 28, 34, 47
Timour, Great Khan, i. 26
Toledo, Francisco de, Viceroy of Peru, ii. 22
Tootal, Albert, i. 51
Topographia Christiana, i. 98
Torquemada, Fray Juan de, ii. 14, 15
Torres, Luis Vaez de, i. 25, 39 ; ii. 14, 15
Toscanelli, Paolo, i. 86
Towerson, Gabriel, i. 19
Tractatus de Globis, i. 79
Transylvanus Maximilianus, i. 52
Tupac Amaru, *Inca*, ii. 22
Turbervile, George, i. 10
Turkey Merchants, i. 87

Ursua, Pedro de, i. 28, 47

Valle, Pietro della, 84, 85
Varthema Ludovico di, i. 19, 32
Vaux, William Sandys Wright, i. 16
Vaz, Lopez, i. 16
Veer, Gerrit de, i. 13, 54
Velasco, Don Luis de, ii. 34
Velásquez, Diego, ii. 23
Vera Cruz, ii. 23
Verarzanus, John, i. 7, 27
Verbiest, Ferdinand, i. 17
Vespucci, Amerigo, i. 90
Vilcapampa, ii. 22

Virginia Britannia, i. 6
Vivero y Velasco, Rodrigo de, i. 8
Vlamingh, Willem de, i. 25
Volkersen, Samuel, i. 25

Warner, George Frederic, Litt.D., ii. 3
Weigates, Straits of, i. 13, 54
West Indies, i. 4, 23; ii. 3, 23
Weymouth, George, i. 5, 88, 89
White, Adam, i. 18
Whiteway, Richard Stephen, ii. 10
Wielhorsky, i. 22
William of Rubruck. *See* Rubruquis, Gulielmus de
Wilmere, Alice, i. 23
Winter, John, i. 16
Witsen, Nicolaas, i. 17, 25
Wolstenholme, Sir John, i. 63, 88, 89
Worlde's Hydrographical Description, i. 59
Wright, Edward, i. 59

Xeres, Francisco de, i. 47; ii. 22

Yncas. *See* Incas
Yucatan, ii. 23
Yule, Sir Henry, K.C.S.I., i. 31, 36, 37, 74, 75, 78; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37, 38, 41

Zarate, Don Francisco de, ii. 34
Zeno, Antonio, i. 50
Zeno, Caterino, i. 49
Zeno, Nicolo, i. 50
Zychman, i. 51

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V. A General Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held annually. The Secretary's Report on the condition and proceedings of the Society shall be then read, and the meeting shall proceed to elect the Council for the ensuing year.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.—1922.*

Members are requested to inform the Hon. Secretary of any errors or alterations in this List.

A.

1920 Abbot, Lieut-Col. Fred W., 16, Rue de la Pépiniére, Paris (viiie).
1899 Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord, 83, Eaton Square, S.W.1
1847 Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen.
1913 Abraham, Lieut. H. C., Topographical Survey Office, Taiping, Perak, Fed. Malay States.
1895 Adelaide Public Library, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.
1847 Admiralty, The, Whitehall, S.W.1. [2 COPIES.]
1847 Advocates' Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
1847 All Souls College, Oxford.
1921 Allen, A. C., Esq., 19, Terlingham Gardens, Folkestone.
1919 Allen, William Henry, Esq., Bromham House, Bromham, near Bedford.
1847 American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.
1901 Andrews, Capt. F., R.N., H.M. Dockyard, Malta.
1906 Andrews, Michael C., Esq., 17, University Square, Belfast.
1919 Anstey, Miss L. M., 23, Cautley Avenue, Clapham Common, S.W.4.
1847 Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
1909 Armstrong, Col. B. H. O., C.M.G., R.E., 24. Montague Road, Richmond.
1847 Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1919 Arnold, Arthur, Esq., Wickham, Hants.
1921 Ascherson, Sub-Lieut. S. R., R.N., H.M.S. "Voyager," Devonport.
1847 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1912 Aylward, R. M., Esq., 7a, Avenida Sur, No. 87, Guatemala.

B.

1920 Baker, G. H. Massy, Esq., Kerema, Gulf Division, Papua.
1909 Baldwin, Rt. Hon. Stanley, Esq., M.P., Astley Hall, nr. Stourport.
1918 Bannerman, David A., Esq., M.B.E., B.A., British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, S.W.7.
1893 Barclay, Hugh Gurney, Esq., M.V.O., Colney Hall, Norwich.
1920 Barclay, W. S., Esq., 39, Bark Place, Bayswater, W.2.
1919 Barrett, V. W., Esq., 1, Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.1.
1919 Barry, Eugene S., Esq., Ayer, Mass., U.S.A.
1899 Bassett, M. René, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, Villa Louise, rue Denfert Rochereau, Algiers.
1921 Bateman, Frederick W., Esq., Westergate, Ealing, W.

* *Sent to press, December*, 1921.

1920 Beasley, Harry T., Esq., Haddon Lodge, Shooter's Hill, S.E.18.
1913 Beaumont, Major H., O.B.E., Suez Canal Police, Port Said, Egypt.
1920 Bedford-Jones, H., Esq., 1448, Upper Second Street, Evansville, Indiana, U.S.A.
1899 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall Square North, Belfast.
1913 Bennett, Ira E., Esq., Editor *Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1920 Benstead, W., Esq., British Post Office, Rabat, Morocco.
1914 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii Island.
1913 Bewsher, F. W., Esq., St. Paul's School, Kensington.
1921 Bickerton, F. H., Esq., Castle Malwood, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1921 Bingham, Capt., A. G., C.I.E., 94, Castle Road, Bedford.
1911 Bingham, Professor Hiram, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
1847 Birmingham Old Library, The, Margaret Street, Birmingham.
1875 Birmingham Public Libraries (Reference Dept.), Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1910 Birmingham University Library.
1899 Board of Education, The Keeper, Science Library, Science Museum, South Kensington, S.W.7.
1847 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
1917 Bombay University Library, Bombay.
1894 Bonaparte, H. I. H. Prince Roland Napoléon, Avenue d'Jéna, 10, Paris.
1920 Bone, H. Peters, Esq., 5, Hamilton Mansions, King's Gardens, Hove.
1847 Boston Athenæum Library, 10½, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1847 Boston Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1912 Bourke, Hubert, Esq., Feltimores, Harlow, Essex.
1899 Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
1894 Bower, Major-General Sir Hamilton, K.C.B., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W.1.
1912 Boyd-Richardson, Commander, S. B., R.N., Highfield Paddock, Niton-Undercliff, Isle of Wight.
1920 Brewster, A. B., Esq., Edengrove, Chelston, Torquay.
1919 Brickwood, Sir John, Portsmouth.
1893 Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion, Church Street, Brighton.
1890 British Guiana Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, Georgetown, Demerara.
1847 British Museum, Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities.
1847 British Museum, Department of Printed Books.
1896 Brock, Henry G., Esq., 1612, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
1920 Brook-Fox, Evelyn, Esq., Tokerwadi, P.O., Poona District, India.
1899 Brookline Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1899 Brooklyn Mercantile Library, 197, Montague Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
1899 Brown, Arthur William Whateley, Esq., Sharvells, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
1920 Brown, Dr. C. J. Macmillan, Holmbank, Cashmere Hills, Christchurch, N.Z.
1916 Browne, Prof. Edward G., M.A., M.B., Firwood, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.
1920 Browne, Lieut.-Comdr. R. R. Gore, British Naval Mission to Poland, Warsaw, c/o Admiralty, S.W.1, I.D. Room 41.
1921 Bryant, George Clarke, Esq., Ansonia, Conn., U.S.A.
1921 Burgoyne, Cuthbert, Esq., Malincourt, Oxshott, Surrey.

1920 Busby, Alex., Esq., Martins Heron, Bracknell, Berks.
1920 Butler, G. Grey, Esq., Ewart Park, Wooler, Northumberland.
1921 Byatt, Sir Horace A., K.C.M.G., Government House, Dar-es-Salaam, E. Africa.
1914 Byers, Gerald, Esq., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.

C.

1913 Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N., Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Gloucestershire.
1921 Calcutta, Presidency College Library.
1903 California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
1847 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
1847 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.
1896 Cardiff Public Library, Trinity Street, Cardiff.
1920 Cardinall, A. W., Esq., Springfield, The Weald, nr. Sevenoaks.
1847 Carlton Club Library, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1899 Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
1920 Carton, Alfred T., Esq., 76, W. Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1914 Casserly, John Bernard, Esq., The Pacific Union Club, Corner Mason and California Streets, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
1920 Cathro, E. A., Esq., Estancia "San Justo," Sola F.C.E.R., Argentina.
1910 Cattarns, Richard, Esq., Great Somerford, Wilts.
1847 Cheetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.
1910 Chicago, Geographical Society of, P.O. Box 223, Chicago.
1899 Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1899 Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1896 Christ Church, Oxford.
1847 Christiania University Library, Christiania, Norway.
1899 Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.
1913 Clark, James Cooper, Esq., c/o Bank of Montreal, Threadneedle Street, E.C.2.
1913 Clarke, Sir Rupert, Bart., Clarke Buildings, Bourke Street, Melbourne.
1917 Clements, R. V., Esq., 3, Western Hill, Durham.
1913 Coates, O. R., Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Tengyueh, W. China.
1919 Coleman, H., Esq., 9, Cambridge Gate, N.W.1.
1847 Colonial Office, The, Downing Street, S.W.1.
1899 Columbia University, Library of, New York, U.S.A.
1918 Commonwealth Parliament Library, Melbourne.
1920 Converse Memorial Library, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass, U.S.A.
1921 Conway, G. R. G., Esq., Light and Power Co., Ltd., Apartado 124 Bis, Mexico City.
1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, M.P., Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent.
1921 Coode, Major Henry P. R., Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.1.
1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Vailima, Bishopstown, Cork.
1919 Copenhagen University Library, Copenhagen.
1919 Cordier, Prof. Henri, 8 rue de Siam, Paris, xvi^{e}.
1847 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
1903 Corney, Bolton Glanvill, Esq., I.S.O., Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.
1899 Corning, C. R., Esq., 36 Wall Street, New York.
1902 Cox, Alexander G., Esq., Engineer-in-Chief's Office, Canton-Hankow Railway, Hankow, China.

1920 Cox, Major-Gen. Sir Percy Z., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., c/o Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, Mesopotamia.
1919 Cozens, J. W., Esq., Golden Bay Hotel, Westward Ho., N. Devon.
1920 Crandon, Dr. L. R. G., 366, Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
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1919 Crosthwaite, Mrs. Hugh, Grant Castle, Mussoorie, U.P., India.
1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon.
1893 Curzon of Kedleston, The Right Hon. the Marquess, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.1.

D.

1913 Dalgliesh, Percy, Esq., Guatemala, C.A.
1847 Dalton, Rev. Canon John Neale, C.V.O., C.M.G., 4, The Cloisters, Windsor.
1917 Damer-Powell, Lieut. J. W., D.S.C., R.N.R., "Merton," Southside, Weston-super-Mare.
1913 Dames, Mansel Longworth, Esq., Crichmere, Edgeborough Road, Guildford.
1847 Danish Royal Navy Library (Marinens Bibliothek), Grönningen, Copenhagen, K.
1912 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
1908 Darwin, Major Leonard, late R.E.
1921 Davis, J., Esq., Edith Villa, Crayford, Kent.
1920 Dawson, Rev. J. C., M.A., Asterby Rectory, Louth, Lincs.
1920 Dealy, T. K., Esq., 19, rue Voltaire, au 2me, Grenoble, Isère, France.
1920 Dearing, F. Morris, Esq., American International Corpn., 120, Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
1894 De Bertodano, Baldemero Hyacinth, Esq., Cowbridge House, Malmesbury, Wilts.
1911 Delbanco, D., Esq., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.3.
1919 Derby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., c/o Major M. H. Milner, Knowsley, Prescot.
1899 Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A.
1919 Digby, Bassett, Esq., c/o S. Johnson, Esq., National Provincial Bank House, Gorleston-on-Sea, Suffolk.
1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France.
1918 Dominion Museum, The, Wellington, New Zealand.
1919 Douglas, Capt. H. P., C.M.G., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
1920 Douglas, W. Bruce, Esq., Messrs. W. H. & F. J. Horniman & Co., Ltd., 27 to 33, Wormwood Street, E.C.2.
1919 Dracopolis, I. N., Esq., Oak Hall, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
1919 Dracopolis, Mrs. K. N., Oak Hall, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library.
1921 Dunn, William, Esq., "Holmleigh," Stoneygate Road, Leicester.
1920 Dunlop, Capt. A. C., Netherland Legation, 42, Seymour Street, W.1
1917 Durban Municipal Library, Natal (Mr. George Reyburn, Librarian).

E.

1913 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
1905 Edge-Partington, J., Esq., Wyngates, Burke's Rd., Beaconsfield.
1919 Edgell, Commander I. A., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.

1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
1920 Edwardes, H. S. W., Esq., Godshill, Fordingbridge, Hants.
1847 Edwards, Francis, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
1920 Elger, L. C., Esq., c/o Queen's House, Kingsway, W.C.2.
1913 Eliot, The Rt. Hon. Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., British Embassy, Tokio, Japan.
1919 English, Ernest E., Esq., c/o The Eastern Telegraph Co., Gibraltar.
1906 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
1917 Essex Institute, The, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
1917 Evans, J. Fred, Esq., 65, I Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.

F.

1910 Fairbrother, Colonel W. T., C.B., Indian Army, Bareilly, N.P., India.
1899 Fellowes Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1920 Fenton, A. H., Esq., 10, Vineyard Hill, Wimbledon.
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1919 Fisher, Gordon, Esq., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.1.
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1914 FitzGibbon, F. J., Esq., c/o The Anglo-South American Bank, Old Broad Street, E.C.2.
1920 Fleming, Dr. G. W. T. H., Boddam S.O., Aberdeen.
1893 Forrest, Sir George William, C.I.E., Rose Bank, Iffley, Oxford.
1902 Foster, Francis Apthorp, Esq., Edgartown, Mass., U.S.A.
1893 Foster, William, Esq., C.I.E., India Office, S.W.1.
1919 Frazer, Sir James G., c/o Mr. James Bain, 14, King William Street, Strand, W.C.2.
1921 Freeman, George B., Esq., c/o D. R. Heaton, Esq., Blackfriars House, Plymouth.
1920 Frere, Major A. G., c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Bombay.
1920 Freshfield, Douglas W., Esq., D.C.L., Wych Cross Place, Forest Row, Sussex.

G.

1913 Gardner, Harry G., Esq., Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Hankow, China.
1919 Gardner, Stephen, Esq., 662, West 12th Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
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1847 George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
1920 Gibraltar Garrison Library.
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1920 Gilbert, W. L., Esq., 267, Calle 25 de Mayo, Buenos Aires.
1901 Gill, William Harrison, Esq., Marunouchi, Tokyo.
1847 Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
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1920 Goddard, Miss Isobel G., The Ashes, Icklesham, Sussex.
1919 Goss, Lieut. C. Richard, 2, Colherne Court, Earl's Court, S.W.5.
1920 Goss, Mrs. George A., 30, Church Street, Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A.
1919 Gosse, Philip, Esq., 25, Argylle Street, Kensington, W.8.
1920 Gostling, A. E. A., Esq., c/o Messrs. Scott & Hume, Maipu 73, Buenos Aires.
1847 Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany.

1877 Gray, Sir Albert, K.C.B., K.C. (*President*), Catharine Lodge, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, S.W.3.
1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 855, Buena Av., Chicago, Ill. U.S.A.
1920 Grievé, T., Esq., Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.
1899 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S A.
1847 Guildhall Library, E.C.2.
1887 Guillemard, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., The Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge.
1920 Gwyther, Capt. H. J., Secretariat, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
1919 Gwyther, J. Howard, Esq., 13, Lancaster Gate, W.2.

H.

1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich, U.S.A.
1919 Haigh, Ernest V., Esq., C.B.E., Royal Thames Yacht Club, 80, Piccadilly, London, W.1.
1847 Hamburg Commerz-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
1922 Hamilton, Sir Robert W., Ford Lodge, Wiveliscombe, Somerset.
1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammersmith, W.6.
1898 Hannen, The Hon. Henry Arthur, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent.
1920 Hardwicke, Charles, Esq., Director, Serbian Relief Fund, Nish., Serbia.
1916 Harrington, S. T., Esq., M.A., Methodist College, St. John's, Newfoundland.
1906 Harrison, Carter H., Esq., 311, The Rookery, Chicago.
1918 Harrison, Comdr. R., D.S.O., R.N.R., Camera Club, 17, John Street, Adelphi, W.2.
1919 Harrison, T. St. C., Esq., Central Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria.
1905 Harrison, Wm. Preston, Esq., 2400, South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
1920 Hart-Synnot, Brig.-Gen. A. H. S., C.M.G., D.S.O., Ballymoyer, White Cross, co. Armagh.
1847 Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1921 Hatcher, Harry T., Esq., 33, West 42nd Street, New York City.
1920 Hawkes, W. Blackburne, Esq., c/o The Mines Office, Tapah, Perak, Federated Malay States.
1913 Hay, E. Alan, Esq., Bengeo House, Hertford.
1919 Hay, G. Goldthorp, Esq., 18, Stonebridge Park, Willesden, N.W.10.
1919 Heape, Bernard, Esq., Hartley, High Lane, via Stockport.
1887 Heawood, Edward, Esq., M.A., Church Hill, Merstham, Surrey (*Treasurer*).
1920 Hedley, Theodore F., Esq., 26, Beechwood Avenue, Darlington.
1921 Hemingway, Mrs. B. M., 26, Elgin Park, Bristol.
1904 Henderson, George, Esq., 13, Palace Court, W.2.
1915 Henderson, Capt. R. Ronald, Little Compton Manor, Moreton-in-Marsh.
1921 Hill, Donald G., Esq., Saginaw Lake, Pender Harbour, Vancouver, B.C.
1920 Hill, H. Brian C., Esq., c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta.
1917 Hinks, Arthur Robert, Esq., C.B.E., F.R.S., Sec. R.G.S., 1, Percy Villas, Campden Hill, W.8.
1874 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., 8, Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, S.W.1.
1921 Hirst, Maurice H., Esq., Elmdon Road, Marston Green, Warwickshire.

1920 Hobden, Ernest, Esq., c/o The Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Co., Ltd., Singapore, Straits Settlements.
1913 Hong Kong University, c/o Messrs. Longmans & Co., 38, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.
1899 Hoover, Herbert Clark, Esq., 1, London Wall Buildings, E.C.2.
1921 Hopkins, Major R. B., O.B.E., Eldama Ravine, Kenya Colony.
1887 Horner, Sir John Francis Fortescue, K.C.V.O., Mells Park, Frome, Somerset.
1911 Hoskins, G. H., Esq., c/o G. & C. Hoskins, Wattle Street, Ultimo, Sydney, N.S.W.
1915 Howland, S. S., Esq., Union Club, 1, East 51st Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1890 Hoyt Public Library, East Saginaw, Mich., U.S.A.
1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, Curator, Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.
1913 Humphreys, John, Esq., 69, Harborne Road, Edgbaston.
1920 Hutton, J. H., Esq., Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.
1915 Hyde, Charles, Esq., 2 Woodbourne Road, Edgbaston.
1920 Hyderabad, The Nizam's Government State Library.

I.

1912 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
1899 Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., Cockenzie House, Preston Pans, East Lothian.
1847 India Office, St. James's Park, S.W.1. [8 COPIES.]
1899 Ingle, William Bruncker, Esq., 10 Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1919 Inman, Arthur C., Esq., Garrison Hall, Garrison Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the, Temple, E.C.4.
1916 Ireland, National Library of, Dublin.

J.

1920 Jackson, Richard H., Esq., Wellington Lodge, Oldham.
1899 Jackson, Stewart Douglas, Esq., 73, West George Street, Glasgow.
1898 James, Arthur Curtiss, Esq., 39, East 69th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1920 Jeffery, Charles T., Esq., 3314, Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1907 Johannesburg Public Library, Johannesburg, South Africa.
1847 John Carter Brown Library, 357, Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
1920 John, Reginald, Esq., 31, Kensington Court, W.8.
1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
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